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THE  
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

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JULY 1910

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SOME FEATURES OF LAST CENTURY

*History of Our Own Times, from the Accession of Queen Victoria to the Diamond Jubilee.* By JUSTIN MCCARTHY. In Five Volumes, 8vo. (London: Chatto & Windus. 1897.)

*The Literature of the Victorian Era.* By HUGH WALKER, LL.D. (Cambridge, at the University Press. 1910.)

*The Cambridge Modern History.* Volume VI: *The Eighteenth Century.* (The University Press. 1909.)

THE following pages, on 'The Last Century,' were written before the mournful event of the sixth of May, which bereft our people of its king and father and sent a throb of grief through the whole world. The most conspicuous and most endeared presence linking this century to the last, the ruler of the widest dominion history has known, has suddenly passed from the earthly scene. King Edward the Seventh had almost reached man's allotted term; but his alertness and vigour, the zest with which he entered on his royal duties, and the longevity of his race, forbade the thought of him as old; his death gave to the nation the shock that is felt when a chief falls in his prime. Coming late to the throne, the King revealed a sense of his mission so distinct and in some respects surprising and had accomplished so much in his nine years of rule, he had shown himself under the restraints of constitutional

government so true a leader of men, that the future developments of his policy had become matters of universal interest. Not his own country alone, but foreign rulers and statesmen had learned to count upon King Edward as a potent influence making for international friendship and world-peace. He was a noble Englishman, and a lover of humanity. A frank and manly cordiality was stamped upon his countenance and was heard in the ring of his voice. He gave expression, with admirable grace and good sense, to the honest friendliness of his people toward all the members of the European family. At home, our King and Queen lived to be dispensers of good-will among all sorts and conditions of men; they rallied round them the philanthropic forces of the time, and made the throne a centre of union for all classes and parties in our divided State. By every token it is manifest that the grief of this bereavement has gone to the heart of the people; the entire Empire gathered like one family about the grave of its beloved sovereign, and wept with the Queen-Mother and her children.

That there should be such mourning at a royal death is by no means a thing of course. One must go far back in history to find a parallel to the funeral of King Edward or Queen Victoria. The last two reigns, it is hardly too much to say, have refounded the British monarchy. At the time when our late king's mother assumed the sceptre a girl of eighteen, something more than seventy years ago, there were grave misgivings on the part of observant men for the future of the monarchy. Republican government seemed to be the inevitable result of the advance of democracy. To-day an English republican is almost a curiosity. Through two generations of popular progress the throne has steadily gained in stability and strength; those least royalist in political theory are compelled to recognize its representative office and moderating influence. And the royal house has conquered the hearts of the people. Sentiment and imagination count for as much as ever in the concerns of State; personality transcends the



loftiest institutions; the magic of character in our recent sovereigns has cast over the throne a new glamour added to its ancient glory. The hereditary principle is perfectly vindicated, where a single family is able to impersonate the history and traditions, the spirit and genius, of a mighty people. The function of the King-Emperor as the keystone of the commonwealth becomes more evidently vital with the increasing complication of national and imperial relations, as new classes of society rise to influence, as the daughter nations grow in strength and independence, and as the duties of the British Government toward subject races become more numerous and more critical.

The successor to the crown may well be 'sensible,' as he declared in his first royal speech, 'of the heavy responsibilities which have fallen upon' him. He has told us that he 'relies upon Parliament and upon the people of these islands, and of' his 'dominions beyond the seas, for their help in the discharge of' his 'arduous duties, and for their prayers that God will grant' him 'strength and guidance.' Such help will be forthcoming from all estates of the realm; and the prayers of a religious people will constantly ascend to the throne of the King of kings on our sovereign's behalf, both for his own sake and for the sake of those who have gone before him, whose memory has lent to the crown of England a lustre surpassing all that pomp and power confer. GOD SAVE KING GEORGE!

. . . . .

**S**WIFTLY the nineteenth century is receding from us, as the ship of life steers into unknown waters. By this date, arrived at the year of our Lord 1910, we have travelled far enough for the eye to survey the coasts and measure the mountain-summits of the familiar country we are leaving. A hundred years, it is true, is an artificial period; there is nothing in the mere fact of passing from one century to another to constitute an epoch or mark a boundary-line of history. But the passage at least affects the imagination; the changes that are going on in men's

thoughts, and the growth or decay of human institutions, tend to gather round this distinction in the calendar and to stamp on each centurial era an impress of its own. As we advance into the new age, we become aware of a different atmosphere about us and an altered drift in the currents of life; 'the twentieth century' supplies a convenient formula, if it be no more, to express the world-movement of which we are, vaguely or clearly, conscious at the present time, while 'the nineteenth century' sums up the experience of the more immediate past.

Each succeeding age is called to be pupil and teacher in its turn; contempt for the past is even more fatal than subservience to it. There are sharp points of transition, and sweeping changes at certain epochs; beneath them the stream runs with unbroken flow. The impetus of the twentieth century comes from the gathered momentum of the nineteenth. Our children leave us behind, because they start from the goal our toil has won. They must stand upon our shoulders, if they would gain a wider view or climb to a loftier level. It is worth while, therefore, at the present juncture—and so far as this may be possible in a few pages and for a single pen—to make some essay toward an appreciation of the nineteenth century from the standpoint of this REVIEW. We shall observe its outstanding features, and take such note as we can of the tasks it has accomplished and the problems it has bequeathed.

## I

The last century was born out of the throes of the French Revolution. That was no mere national disturbance: it was a world-convulsion; at the time it broke out, France had been for long the greatest of the Great Powers and Paris was the intellectual and social capital of Europe. The earthquake that overthrew the Bourbon dynasty sent its shock through the fabric of civilization; it excited agitations, spreading over wider and wider areas, that have reached at last the unchanging East. England was stirred

more deeply than any other European country by the upheaval which took place across the Channel, though less violently in consequence of its more stable social condition and because the Revolution had been discounted amongst ourselves by the conflicts of the seventeenth century.

The French Revolutionists took for their motto the three words *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*. They effected little for the last, something for the second, but very much for the first of those ideals. The nineteenth century became the age of liberalism (we write the word with a small *l*, and with no partisan intention). Its popular cries were tuned to this keynote; its characteristic changes, until quite near the end of its course, went in the direction of emancipation, enfranchisement, personal and national. For its children 'the divine right of kings'—a wonderfully potent and not unserviceable faith in its time—became a superstition. The rights of man, the greatness of the human *ego*—these now supplied the inspirations of the poet, the themes of the philosopher, and the problems of the statesman. The old feudal and monarchic despotisms were submerged by wave after wave of the intruding tide of democracy; we have seen the Czarism of Russia, and the Sultanate of Turkey, at last capitulate to the spirit of the age. Parliamentary and representative institutions, taking their pattern from our own, have been set up from end to end of Europe; no throne any longer hopes to stand that is not 'broad-based upon the people's will.' Constitutional government—government by the people for the people—has been created and has become the normal state-system of civilized nations.

Along with the re-creating of the civil order, innumerable fetters and limitations upon individual action have been removed. The old hierarchic and aristocratic dominations, where they subsist, are waning in prestige and wear the look of picturesque survivals. Equality before the law is secured. Serfdom is everywhere abolished. The free self-respecting citizen, the man of the people, is now the unit of the commonwealth and sways by his collective vote

the nation's destiny. The appearance of Nihilism and Anarchism in politics, and of the rank Egoism of Nietzsche in ethics, mark the *ne plus ultra* of the gospel of emancipation; in these theories the libertarianism of the last century has run to seed.

Such is the broad result of the secular movement inaugurated by the overthrow of the French monarchy at the close of the eighteenth century, which brought to a sudden termination the *ancien régime*. Taken as a whole, the Revolution meant a grand development of individuality. It has called into existence the modern freeman and has set him on his feet an independent person, able to go his own way and carve out his own destiny, with neither priest nor king to gainsay him. Freedom and the Rights of Man were the war-cries of the enthusiastic age of our grandfathers. By these ideas the political struggles for the franchise and reform, for the abolition of negro slavery, and for colonial self-government, were animated. The successive wars which have given birth in the nineteenth century to the nationalities of Greece, Hungary, Italy, the South American Republics, the Balkan States, of a united Germany, as of the United States of North America before this time (whose contest with the mother country was prophetic of all that has happened since), had their ultimate motive and warrant here. In the conception that flamed out at the French Revolution of the worth of the human individual and his imperious claim to self-direction, we touch the mainspring of civil progress and legislation during the last hundred or hundred and fifty years.

At the back of all this, one must remember, lay the Protestant Reformation. Of this spiritual renaissance, as the more profound historians perceive, the French Revolution was a perverted consequence. Protestantism meant the enfranchisement of the conscience; it was the reaffirmation to itself of the individual soul in its standing before God, the reassertion of the prerogatives of faith. From this high fountain the modern personality took its rise, although the stream has flowed since along strange



channels and gathered from many soils an alien colour. The new consciousness of personal right and dignity from which modern history has sprung, suppressed as it was and driven underground by Rome and the French monarchy in the religious sphere, had a resurrection in the political, where it exacted vengeance on its suppressors. For the true springs of human action lie in the soul's relations to God; the power that violates those relations brings on itself a retribution the more crushing for delay.

## II

Behind the world of action lies the world of thought. In books the latter finds its record—an expression not always adequate, but for by-gone times the best available. The character of last century was largely determined by a pervasive literary development, culminating in its earlier decades, which witnessed the rise of the modern Idealism and Romanticism. This movement has been called 'the return to Nature,' in other aspects 'the renascence of Wonder,' 'the reappearance of the Supernatural,' 'the reaction of Sentiment against Reason.' In effect the manifestation was an emotional outbreak, a revolt from the cold rationalism and conventional classicalism (of the Latin, not the Hellenic, type) which ruled European culture through the later seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries. The feeling heart rebelled against the calculating head.

Jean Jacques Rousseau, strangest and unholy of prophets, was the herald of the dawn on the Continent. Single-handed, Jean Jacques routed all the proprieties! His sentimentalism ran like an epidemic through society, and touched hidden springs in minds of every order. The poet Thomson of 'The Seasons,' Goldsmith, Cowper, Gray, and Collins—above all, Robert Burns and William Blake—were harbingers of the revival of imaginative feeling in Britain. Macpherson's *Ossian*, the *Percy Reliques*, and Richardson's Novels, earlier still, had given indications in different quarters of the changed atmosphere coming over

literature. The glorious lyrical outburst in which the voices of Byron, Scott, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley, and Keats blended their several notes, signalized the full advent of the new era. In Germany, Lessing, Herder, Schiller rose on the same tide of quickened human feeling with the contemporary English poets. This prevailing current mingled with other influences, especially that of the new attention to Greek art and poetry, in the great soul of Goethe; Goethe's was surely the largest mind of the century—had he only known true religion he would have comprehended everything! Immanuel Kant, the father of modern philosophy, belonged to the same generation, and owed his awakening on the one hand to David Hume, keenest of the rationalists, on the other to Rousseau, arch-priest of the sentimentalists. It was Kant's glory to rediscover the constitutive thought and will of the universe in the mirror of the individual mind.

The political and literary movements we have noted had much in common, and reacted on each other. The dreamer Rousseau was a factor in bringing about the French Revolution; the shock of the Revolution set hearts beating and passions working everywhere, stirring now the wildest hopes, then pity and terror in the same breast. Each of the two outbursts was of the nature of a rebellion against repressive conditions which had over-served their purpose, a vindication of man against custom, of nature against arbitrary law. Fresh pulses were in the air; the spirit of humanity seemed to be reborn. Men gazed on the face of life with eyes opening to a world of beauty and truth veiled from them by the make-believes of an artificial age. The butterfly, symbol to the Greeks of *Psyché*, had escaped once more from the folds of her chrysalis.

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,  
But to be young was very heaven!

Such was, to quote Wordsworth's lines, the intoxication of the wonderful spring-tide of the heart and imagination which ushered in the century now closed.

If space and knowledge sufficed, it might be interesting to follow through the century the course of this intellectual awakening. To distinguish the manifold channels into which the stream poured itself, and to mark the eddies and cross-currents which arrested or diverted its flow, would be a delightful task. Dr. Hugh Walker, in his *Literature of the Victorian Era*, proves himself a well-equipped and instructive guide for much of the ground to be traversed. In Walter Scott and the school of historical romance 'the return to nature' became a cult of the heroic, a sentimental reversion to mediaevalism—toward the ruder ages in which man's individual powers had ampler play. The new conservatism inspired by horror of the Revolution and its works, was touched at the same time by a genuine passion for the antique and picturesque. This romantic trend entered into the Oxford Movement of the mid-century with its Romeward drift, which has deeply affected later English life. With many a High Churchman, taste and antiquarian sentiment, and repugnance toward the iconoclasm of a raw democracy, counted for quite as much as religious sensibility. John Keble, the nursing-father of the Anglican Revival and a man of refined and tender piety, was Professor of Poetry at Oxford and a disciple of Scott and Wordsworth. Keble and Newman were possessed by hatred of 'Liberalism,' which to them meant little less than the negation of God and the destruction of the sanctities of life. In the field of art Romanticism took shape in the work of the Pre-Raphaelite painters; it inspired the aesthetic teaching of Ruskin and the war he waged upon the plutocracy and crass utilitarianism of the nineteenth century. Carlyle and Matthew Arnold, Tennyson and Browning, with their shining weapons, joined from various sides in the attack on the British Philistine, whose stolid self-complacence, while it provoked, made him proof against the assault.

Dickens and Thackeray 'held up the mirror to' the English 'nature' of their time, as Richardson and Fielding had done a century earlier, but with more genial art—the

former in exuberant wealth of scene and situation, the latter with exquisite portrayal of character. The England of the middle nineteenth century is immortalized in the pages of these two its chief limners. 'George Eliot,' Meredith, and Hardy, our later masters of fiction, have worked in a narrower and intenser vein. These powerful writers are keen and relentless anatomists of the soul; they have in common a vivid sense, resembling that of the Greek tragedians, for the moral nemesis presiding over life. Each of them has suffered from the Agnosticism that clouded the waning years of the century; the last-named indulges a pessimistic temper and wears a *fin-de-siècle* air which embitters the pleasure of his craftsmanship. The pathos of Charles Dickens is exchanged for the poignancy of Thomas Hardy. The emotionalism of the nineteenth century had arrived at its latest phase.

The idealistic philosophy ascendant at the beginning of the period, on the whole, maintained its ground, despite relapses toward Pantheism. It underwent a severe struggle with the Sensationalism and Utilitarianism of Bentham and the Mills (father and son), and of Herbert Spencer, who gave to the empirical philosophy a new dialect and an evolutionary dress; their system was at the bottom nothing more than the eighteenth-century Rationalism ethically applied, and reinforced by the aid of physical science. A fresh antagonist appeared before the century ended, of a more moderate and plausible character, in the Pragmatism associated with the name of the American philosopher William James. This philosophy may also claim filiation from Kant, and is allied to the influential Ritschlian movement in theology. Kant's authority has steadily grown as time went on. Philosophic thought scarcely can surrender the ground which his *Kritik* has cleared, or get away from the position that reason contains the *prius* for all construction of nature and will the *prius* for all moral activity.

The evolutionary method is the most considerable contribution of the nineteenth century to the progress of the mind. Hegel had already put this instrument to daring



metaphysical use, when Darwin carried it triumphantly into the field of biology. It begins to be seen that the Darwinian theory of organic development, instead of banishing rational ends and creative will from nature, points on to a wider teleology. The materialistic bias which prevailed amongst scientists a generation ago and still sways the popular mind, has been modified by the advance of science itself. As research penetrates deeper into material nature and ponderable matter resolves itself into ever finer and subtler forces, and as mathematics brings one science after another under its control, the empiricism of Huxley and Tyndall becomes increasingly distasteful. Physical and metaphysical inquiry approximate, and are making for a common goal. Such memories as those of Thomson (Lord Kelvin), Stokes, Clerk-Maxwell, and Romanes speak for the spiritual tendencies and sympathies that are reasserting themselves in the domain of physics. But to sum up in a couple of paragraphs the history of science and philosophy during the last prolific century seems a ridiculous attempt!

The return to fact and nature so evident toward the close of the eighteenth century called forth a new interest in the beginnings of national life and the ways of the ancient world. Gibbon was the forerunner of a troop of laborious students and skilful interpreters in this field. As the nineteenth century advanced, this branch of literature overcame the idealizing tendency, which it still pursued, for example, in the splendid work of Carlyle (whose *French Revolution* is the greatest of modern epics) and in Macaulay's glittering pages. History became a severe science, and acquired unexampled precision and impartiality. Associated with the evolutionary principle in philosophy, its pursuit has assumed a dominating influence in modern culture. Every province of thought is submitting to its rule—religion along with the rest—and is being remoulded by its hands. The inquisition through which the biblical documents and Christian origins are now passing is one result of the awakening of the historical conscience which the nineteenth

century witnessed. However disquieting, the process is inevitable: faith has good right to say, 'Nevertheless, the firm foundation of God standeth!'

If lyrical poetry voiced the aspirations of the century's youth, realistic history is the typical product of its old age. A hundred years ago man sounded anew the depths of his heart; now he is taking stock of his collective existence. The individual consciousness, reborn in the dawn of idealism which lighted the horizon of our grandfathers, is expanding into a race-consciousness. History and Anthropology, Comparative Religion, geographical exploration and universal commerce—above all, Christian missionary enterprise,—these are so many feelers by which man is reaching out to man across the distances of space and time and the race is attaining to its spiritual oneness. It will be given to the child of the twentieth century to realize, as never before, the pulse of a world-humanity beating in his breast.

### III

The science of the last century affected in manifold ways man's inner life of thought; it has transformed his outer world of activity. The application of science to industry has been the chief material factor in the making of the nineteenth century. To this we owe the gigantic growth of machinery, the new means of locomotion and communication, the aggregation of capital, the factory system and the modern 'proletariate.' These developments have changed the aspect of civilized lands within the last hundred and fifty years to an extent unparalleled since man lived on the earth. This may be called 'the English Revolution,' for Britain has been the leader in manufacturing invention and trade-extension; the system of wholesale production, which has effectually displaced the old methods of individual and family industry, had its propagating centre here. Like the other leading forces of the nineteenth century, this also took its rise in the eighteenth century,

—that age of the small beginning of so many mighty things.

Undoubtedly this great movement was a stride in secular progress that will be for ever memorable in the march of mankind. The century of the steam-engine and the electric telegraph wears, in spite of Ruskin, a crown of no mean distinction. The advance in man's power over nature it has registered, is the most conspicuous he has achieved since the prehistoric dates of the taming of the domestic animals and the launching of the first ship on the waters.

One would have expected the victories of science to bring, with new command of material forces, new happiness, releasing men from drudgery and liberating their faculties for higher uses. In the end this gain, under the blessing of God, will be realized; a large addition to man's comfort and security has already accrued from the multiplication of his physical appliances. So much is this the case, that the well-to-do classes begin to suffer enervation from the increase of bodily ease, where there is no corresponding growth in moral earnestness. At the present stage the results of the industrial revolution for the multitude of our people are disappointing, and wellnigh disheartening; one is tempted to say to the Providence that guides human history (after the old reading of Isa. ix. 3), 'Thou hast multiplied the nation, and not increased the joy!' What avail our superb enginery and colossal wealth, if these things signify

that repose has fled

For ever the course of the river of Time;  
That cities will crowd to its edge  
In a blacker, incessanter line;  
That the din will be more on its banks,  
Denser the trade on its stream,  
Flatter the plain where it flows,  
Fiercer the sun overhead;  
That never will those on its breast  
See an ennobling sight,  
Drink of the feeling of quiet again?

The few, rather than the many, have hitherto reaped the substantial benefits of mechanical invention; from some points of view it looks as though modern commercialism were but producing millionaires on the one side, balanced by pauperism and the slums upon the other. An ancient Greek introduced to the smoke-laden air and mean streets and white unwholesome faces of one of our factory suburbs, would think himself transported to some dismal region of Tartarus!

The social system which had grown out of the simpler conditions of life and labour was unprepared to meet the altered situation; the adjustment is slow and painful, lagging ever behind occasion. It is appalling to reflect what the outcome of the industrial revolution would have been, but for the spiritual forces that attended its emergence. For it must be noticed that machinery, and artillery—which latter is in fact the machinery of war, science applied to slaughter—have enormously added to the physical power of the propertied and governing classes. Imagine these appliances in the possession of the ancient slave-holding and military empires! Two symptoms of the early part of last century are enough to indicate what might have ensued but for the checks we have observed: the first is the treatment of factory apprentices disclosed in many of the Lancashire cotton-mills at that period; the second, the whiff of grape-shot with which Napoleon cleared the streets of Paris and suppressed its democracy. A new slavery might have been engendered as hopeless and degrading as the old, and on a vaster scale, had it not been for the passion for freedom instilled into the breasts of the multitude, and the Christian sense of the sacredness of human life. The growth of citizenship, and of the religious conscience, during the last century, together with the revived love of nature, have saved our age from being stifled by materialism and strangled by commercial greed.

The effects of the segregation and accumulation of capital and labour, due mainly to the steam-engine, have in some sense counterworked those of political liberty. The



latter makes its appeal to the individual man, vindicating his rights and magnifying his importance as against society and government. But machinery and factory-life make for the dwarfing of the individual; he becomes an insignificant item in the great productive organism, a single cog, easily replaced, in its huge wheel-work. Formerly the mechanic, with his bag of tools and his little shop, was complete in himself, like the feudal knight on horseback and armed *cap-à-pie*—labour and capital and exchange all vested in a single person, a picture of sturdy independence! Now he is a cipher in the industrial army, able only to move with the crowd and seeking his work where capital and engine-power provide a place for him.

There is no creature on God's earth more pitifully helpless than the modern operative, while he stands singly in face of the monster enginery which wealth commands. Our workpeople have been compelled by the stress of their position to act together, and to match the organization of machinery with the organization of labour in their trade-unions and federations. They have made mistakes doubtless, and will make them, and have committed excesses here and there in working out their economic salvation—ill-taught and sorely tried as they have been. But who that has a generous mind can watch their efforts without sympathy and admiration? The 'mill-hands' have shown themselves men. They have learnt discipline and self-sacrifice; their social instincts and aptitudes have been developed by adversity, and they have found good friends and counsellors. The masses of our working people are mastering the secrets of the strength that lies in combination, through their protracted and sometimes bitter struggle with the conditions created by industrial science and the despotism of machinery.

The artisan population of Europe and America appears to be gradually educating itself into a new order of life, destined to have, for good or evil, a mighty influence upon the future. The Socialism of the opening twentieth century—admittedly its outstanding moral phenomenon—which

has many forms and many potencies hopeful or threatening, has sprung up on the soil prepared for it in crowded manufacturing cities. It has been woven upon their looms and hammered in their forges. The French Revolution, we have said, did much for the first, but little for the third, of its three watchwords, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*; the day of Fraternity is yet to come. 'Liberty' has been the battle-cry of the nineteenth century, 'Brotherhood' is that of the twentieth.

For men have found that liberty by itself is an empty boon. Freedom is a fine ideal for the strong and the clever. The doctrine of 'Laissez-faire' or 'Hands off!', 'A fair field and no favour!'—the principle of unlimited competition—suits the man well placed and fortunate in the race of life. With health and ability and determination, a young man in many callings may rise to the very top, however humble his beginning. Such careers, made possible by liberty and the breaking down of privilege, are the glory of the nineteenth century. A book like Smiles's *Self Help* is a record of achievements which are a credit to our race. But of what use are freedom and the prizes of the open field to the unemployed workman, to the destitute and friendless woman, to the child of the slums? For these liberty means liberty to starve, liberty to rot. More and more it came to be seen that civil equality and the franchise, the setting of every man free to make the most of himself—while all this proved an immense boon and stimulus to many, while it let loose the springs of enterprise and supplied indispensable conditions for progress, such liberation is no panacea for the ills of a people's life. The maxim 'Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost!' is not the last word of political science; it certainly is not of 'the wisdom which cometh down from above'! The selfish utilitarianism which was the bad element in the nineteenth century, aggravated by its heedless and almost as selfish 'charity,' has left in its track a long trail of the hindmost to encumber and discredit Christian civilization. The mass of human 'waste' bulks most visibly in our own

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country, though this is counted the richest in the world and the most benevolent. 'The submerged tenth' of our city populations sunk below the level of a decent human subsistence, and the large additional fraction on the edge of submergence, form a shameful deduction from the gains of economic progress and the march of liberty.

Reflections of this sort weighed heavily on the minds of thoughtful men as the century closed. The optimistic tone of a generation earlier, when liberalism and scientific knowledge were promising an earthly paradise, had given place to a disenchantment bordering on despair. The insufficiency of political reform, the failure of popular education, the unsettlement of religious faith, the gross luxury of the rich and the squalor of the poor, the dull *malaise* running through European society, the breakdown of modern individualism—such were the reproaches cast on the declining years of the century, the truth of which its conscience, despite all that stood to the opposite side of the account, was in large measure compelled to admit. At least the accusation may indicate some of the questions which it has left for the coming century to answer.

IV

We glance finally at those influences, operative throughout the nineteenth century and in our eyes the most sacred and deeply working, which issued from the restoration of the Evangelical Faith. Of this revival Wesley was the signal instrument, and the Methodist Churches are a chief but by no means the only product.

Modern historians recognize that Methodism contributed more than any other single cause to save England from the miseries of the French Revolution. The latest witness, Mr. Temperley, who writes in the sixth volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*,<sup>1</sup> puts William Pitt the elder and John Wesley together as the master minds of English life in the eighteenth century—the one determining the course

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter ii, 'The Age of Walpole and the Pelhams.'

of empire and international policy, the other remoulding the national faith and character. In what concerned the political framework, the Wesleys were rooted conservatives; the more effectually did they succeed, through God's grace, in generating a new life within that frame. While John Wesley created the Methodist Societies, his spirit and that of his companions diffused an atmosphere of gentleness, forbearance, and unworldliness wherever they moved; their gospel softened and tamed the wildest natures. A wholesomer and warmer moral climate came over English society, perceptible everywhere by the time Wesley's work was finished. The founder lived to witness, with deep foreboding, the outbreak of the Revolution. Happily the passion for liberty, when its contagion reached the British shores, was tempered by the fear of God and the reverence for authority which the Evangelical revivalists bent all their strength to inculcate, and by the increase of good-will in the community permeated anew by a 'faith which works through love.'

The generation following upon John Wesley's death, and inaugurating the nineteenth century, required all the moral strength it could command. For it had to bear, ensuing on the shock of the Revolution, the terrific strain of the wars with Napoleon. During that life-and-death struggle it accomplished the founding of the great Missionary Societies, and not long afterwards the costly abolition of Negro Slavery. This was an age of heroic things, a time of high ardour and far vision, when men were ready to spend and to be spent for their country and for their God. In the case of nations, as of men, it is under hardship and stress that the noblest deeds are done.

The political leaders most admired and trusted by the British democracy throughout the century were sober and godly men, of a temper wholly removed from that of the Continental revolutionaries—such parliamentarians as Wilberforce, Bright, and Gladstone. The spirit of liberty and of empire were wedded to that of a fervent Christian faith—a combination even more conspicuous in the work

of our soldiers and statesmen abroad, and particularly in India, than it has been at home; one thinks, for example, of the Lawrences, Havelock, Herbert Edwardes, of General Gordon, and Bartle Frere. This union is a fact of prime importance in the history of the last hundred years.

It is more difficult to estimate the influence of Evangelical teaching upon the literary developments of the nineteenth century, and upon industrial changes. In the former respect there was at first a marked antagonism—an attitude of contempt on the one side met by censoriousness on the other—which would afford a fruitful topic for inquiry. John Foster wrote a famous essay *On the Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion*, which contains some of his wisest thoughts. In their original impulse the poetical and the religious revival were kindred: the former was, as we have seen, a new outgush of emotion in literature; and 'it is the glory of Methodism,' writes Mr. Temperley with perfect truth, 'to have appealed to the heart and to have restored emotion to its rightful place in religion.' Unquestionably there has been a *rapprochement* since Foster's day. Historians have come to appreciate the Revival; leaders of public opinion treat Methodism with a courtesy denied to our fathers; for the most part they seek to do justice to the several Churches, though too often from the outside, and acknowledge their place in the social economy. The Evangelical ministry, upon its part, has thrown aside its former narrowness and aloofness from general culture; in some quarters it cultivates even too eagerly, at the expense of spiritual fervour and vigour of appeal, a literary flavour and the accomplishments of style.

In regard to the bearing of evangelism upon modern labour the facts are of a conflicting tenor, and need a more searching inquiry than we are competent to make. Methodism took a powerful hold at the outset of the factory operatives in the north of England, as it did of the agricultural labourers of the east and centre and the Cornish fishermen and miners in the far south-west. It counted for much in imparting the moral vigour which carried England

successfully through the long duel with Napoleon, and which rendered possible the rapid strides in economic production and colonial expansion that ensued on its termination. But our Church fell short of the promise of its early days: it has not leavened the operative classes, nor moderated the industrial conflict, to the degree that might have been looked for. The alienation of the working people from the Churches is a sore reproach, which bears particularly on ourselves. There has been a divorce between the chapel and the workshop. The workman has an obstinate impression, for which there must be some reason, that he is not wanted by the Church. He imagines that church- and chapel-going folk look down upon him, and cannot see things from his point of view. Often he looks askance at the minister, as the interested friend of the employer in distinction from himself. Wesleyan Methodism is said (with how much truth our older readers may judge) to have gravitated toward the trading and money-making sections of society and away from the artisans and labourers, and to have identified itself with the tastes and prejudices of the English middle classes. Our Reform agitations and schisms have done incalculable, if not irreparable, mischief and brought upon us lasting discredit in the people's eyes. The well-to-do religious have been too little imbued with the humbleness and charity of the gospel; too frequently they have shown themselves unchristianly hard toward employés, and unmindful of the fact that they were dealing with brethren and fellow workmen; somehow an Englishman will sooner bring his religion into anything than into his business, and his 'pocket' is the last thing about him to be converted. 'Property,' as all the world knows, is our national idol.

But through the worst times religious fellowship has softened the contentions of labour and capital, and Methodism has constantly wrought, most effectually when least ostensibly, as a healing influence. In her communion masters and men have come to know each other upon their best side; they have prayed for and with each other, and



the homely labourer has been not seldom his employer's spiritual counsellor. Disastrous quarrels attract notice, where peace and friendly co-operation pass unobserved. There has always been a body of employers—a large proportion of these found in our own Church—who have cared for their men as men, not as mere 'hands,' who have done their best according to their lights in their people's interests; while workmen in multitudes respond to the good-will and fair dealing of a worthy captain of industry. Such masters and servants are the salt of the earth; to them the prosperity of British trade during the nineteenth century is mainly due. It is a sign of good hope for the future that there are found to-day in greater proportion than before amongst the trade-union leaders and pioneers of social reform men of Christian conviction and loyalty, who in their aims for the uplifting of the people 'seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness.'

Our survey has brought into view the two fixed elements of human nature between which the pendulum of history is constantly swinging—the individual and social factor of our constitution, personality and race-feeling. These are to be reckoned with not as antagonistic but as complementary and balanced powers, supplying the right and the left foot of progress. They make alternate movements, but only as each rests upon and is controlled by the other. Individualism is not without socialism, nor socialism without individualism, 'in the Lord.'

It is one out of many proofs of the sufficiency of Christ, that in His person and His doctrine these two constituents are perfectly combined; they centre in His relationship to God. The revelation of Father, Son, and Spirit discloses to us in the Godhead not a bare, rigid Oneness, a solitary Selfness of majesty and power, but a concentrated Unity, an eternal Communion of thought and love. 'That they all may be one,' prayed Jesus, 'even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee—that they also may be in Us, that the world may believe that Thou didst send Me': the unification of the world is bound up with the faith of the

gospel; the solidarity of mankind rests upon the historical union of humanity with deity in Jesus Christ, and this again upon the oneness of the Son with the Father in the Infinite Triune.

If the gospel teaches anything, it teaches the immeasurable worth of every soul, its greatness in the eyes of the Father of the universe. Christ's message singles each man out of the crowd; its reproaches of sin, its warnings of judgement, its proffers of mercy and witnessings of the Spirit, speak all of them to the individual consciousness and will. The Revival of the eighteenth century, with all the awakenings that followed in the nineteenth, turned upon this principle; they brought new impartings of Christ's grace, immediately as from His living self, to men's several hearts and lives. The Saviour who has wrought in our age is the Son of God who 'loved me and gave Himself up for me'—the sense of this makes the *me*, the 'new man' of the Christian personality, in whose existence and experience lie the proof and vital centre of our religion. The apprehension of the divine relationship of the self in each man, wanting to the non-Christian faiths, is at the root of modern progress and aspiration. This creative idea, overlaid by Rome with its Papal priesthood and semi-pagan worship, was recovered in the Protestant Reformation and was given to the common people of England by the Methodist Revival. Nothing must be allowed to eclipse or minimize for us the New Testament conception of the grandeur of the soul kindled by the breath of God and redeemed by the blood of His Son. We are not ashamed of Wesley's instruction to his preachers, 'You have nothing to do but to save souls.'

At the same time, in virtue of its redemption of the soul, Christianity created fresh bonds for society and gave to it a new and heavenly impress. That Christ 'loved me and gave Himself up for me' is a declaration matched by the other sentence of the same apostle, 'He loved the Church and gave Himself up for her.' It might be well for Evangelical Protestantism to consider whether in its

passionate adherence to the former of these sayings it has not slighted and comparatively ignored the latter, and whether the Head has not occasion to be grieved in many of His members by their critical coldness toward the Body which He loves and cherishes for His own. Our Free Churches are suffering an arrest at the present time, in part it may be because they are too 'free' to 'serve one another in love,' because their overblown independence and individualism are out of keeping with an age when the Spirit of God is reawakening the social instincts of the race. While they entertain and debate with materialistic forms of Socialism, they may be meanwhile neglecting the socialism of the Spirit; even Methodists, who had 'learned Christ' far otherwise than this, have come to find the obligation to meet each other in the fraternity of faith an irksome burden. This unbrotherly mood that has chilled the Churches will pass away with the renewed 'supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ'; like the materialistic mood that has depleted our congregations, it is an inheritance from the lower and unworthier spirit of the nineteenth century.

'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' is the law that constitutes the moral order of the world in Christ Jesus—a 'second commandment like unto' the first, which makes man's love to his fellows one with his reverent love to God and one with his nobler self-regard. The Church of the twentieth century has a great task and a high reward before it, in the call to interpret the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus to an age which is feeling after a truer social order and a larger and happier life for the masses of mankind.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

## THE PRESENT POSITION IN RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY

*The Philosophical Basis of Religion.* By JOHN WATSON, LL.D. (Maclehose. 1907.)

*Science and Religion in Contemporary Philosophy.* By EMILE BOUTROUX. (Duckworth. 1910.)

*Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy of Life.* By BOYCE GIBSON, M.A. (A. & C. Black. 1907.)

### I

IT is sometimes said that the theology of the future will be not biblical dogmatics, but religious philosophy. One of the canons of prophecy is that forecasts of the future are built on signs of the present, and this prediction is evidently inspired by the change of standpoint wrought by the critical study of Scripture. The older theology made little or no discrimination between the evidential values of the various portions of Scripture, and elaborated doctrines from heterogeneous texts and passages, chosen without regard to historical or literary considerations, and often wholly apart from their local reference and contemporary colour. The general adoption of the critical standpoint has made this unscientific method no longer possible. We do not now look to theology to afford a compact and complete system of God and man from an indiscriminated collection of proof-texts, and hence it is assumed in some quarters that theology must be superseded by religious philosophy, and that we must search the oracles of Greece rather than the oracles of God for our doctrines of God, man, and nature.

With this conclusion I am not able to agree. So far as I can judge, it seems more likely that the future will separate religious philosophy and theology into distinct, yet complementary, spheres. It must be remembered that the connexion between philosophy and theology is of

ancient establishment, and dates back to days long before Nicaea. The theistic 'proofs' of sonorous title, ontological, teleological, and the like, without which it was once impossible for orthodox theology to exist, were plainly an incursion into the territory of religious philosophy. Some of the older theologians especially were acutely interested and far-seeing in the philosophical aspect of theology. But having begun in philosophy, an abrupt transition was made, and the current of thought flowing from philosophical considerations was switched off into scriptural and dogmatic channels. This proceeding was always somewhat inconsequential, and with the newer outlook of the day, it seems more than probable that the tendency increasingly will be not to substitute philosophy for theology, but to mark out for each its own sphere. If it be asked what these spheres may be, I should not hesitate to say, even though general opinion is hardly ready at present to receive the statement, that theology is not concerned with the existence of God, but only with the scriptural teaching concerning His character and will. The former text-books of theology have usually begun with some indifferent philosophy, and continued with a great deal of irrelevant Church history, by which the student gets the impression of the invincible qualities of orthodoxy, and the doctrinal and moral unsoundness of every one and every thing that happened to be condemned by the majority at a heated General Council. The future theologian will, I believe, not encumber his theology with philosophical arguments alien to it, nor will he touch other than sparingly the history of dogma; rather will his endeavour be to apportion his treatment to the treatment given by Scripture to each topic he handles, and his success will be according as he concentrates upon and is faithful to the Scripture alone. If this be so, he will confess that neither in the Old Testament, nor—more important still—in the New, is there any argument for the divine existence. The Old Testament begins with the splendid assumption, 'In the beginning, God'; Jesus

speaks without introduction of the Father; the writer to the Hebrews states explicitly, 'He that cometh to God must believe that He is.' In concerning itself with the existence of God, theology is straying beyond its subject. To religious philosophy belongs the task of investigating the grounds of that characteristically human belief, which was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, in a Power who made, sustains, and shapes the universe, whilst to theology belongs the task of tracing the Hebrew doctrine which prepared, and the Christian doctrine which fulfilled, the doctrines which have given the world the noblest conceptions and the purest insight of God.

The same critical standpoint which has changed our estimation of the task of theology has led to a vastly enhanced interest in the scientific and exact study of Scripture, which must tend greatly to increase the precision and accuracy of scriptural theology. The theology of the future is likely to be a scientific study based on and concerned with the sacred text alone, but prepared for by a philosophical groundwork distinct from yet complementary to it.

If this be so, it should be of more than a passing interest to ask what are the present tendencies of religious philosophy, in order to judge which is most likely to afford the best groundwork for a scriptural and evangelical theology. Philosophy is more sensitive to tendencies of thought than theology should be. It may be hoped that theology will become increasingly free from tendencies of all kinds. It would be a notable gain if we could class and estimate our biblical scholars neither as conservative nor as advanced, but simply according to their fidelity and impartiality to their subject. It is highly harmful to the best interests of their work that they should be regarded, and their conclusions judged, as they are to-day only too commonly, as necessarily either radical or reactionary. Philosophy, however, having a less definite subject matter, is more apt to be influenced by tendencies of thought. Confining attention to religious philosophy, the naturalistic and agnostic types of thought may be



passed by, and at the outset a broad distinction may be made between what remains. Most distinctions are arbitrary in some particulars; but, speaking generally, one of the most important movements in modern philosophy has been the turning away from absolutist and transcendental methods to those of personalism and empiricism. The distinction is, of course, not a new one; it is often said that every man is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian; but it is one especially significant at the present time. Both schools are agreed that every pulse of consciousness is composed of the interwoven elements of thought, will, and feeling; but the former, following the traditions of philosophy, emphasizes thought or reason: the latter considers that feeling and will have not received their due. But what begins as a difference in emphasis ends in an entire difference of result.

Kant, who is the father or godfather of almost every philosophical tendency of the time, may have been responsible for the first suggestion of the cleavage by his famous separation of pure and practical reason. The Coryphaeus of intellectualist philosophy was, needless to say, Hegel, and the protagonist of the *Wünsch-philosophie*, to adopt the expressively general German name, was his critic Lotze. To-day, the tendency seems to me to be to replace Hegel by Lotze at the centre of philosophic gravity. By this, of course, is not meant either the philosophy of Hegel or of Lotze intact and entire, but the general attitude and spirit of the two thinkers. Hegel's direct influence has long since disintegrated, Lotze never founded a 'school' in the usually accepted sense: yet Hegel's spirit lives wherever it is sought to measure the universe in terms of pure reason; and Lotze's doctrine of value-judgements—that is to say, the judgements by which we assess what anything *means for us*, not simply what it is in itself—which has been powerfully employed by Ritschl and his followers, has been one of the most potent factors in the development of the newer and—may I say?—more humanized philosophy of the day.

## 28 *The Present Position in Religious Philosophy*

A brief review of the journey from Transcendentalism on the one hand, to Empiricism and Pragmatism on the other, will summarize the forces at work in the religious philosophy of the present time. The route will pass through two types of thought that lie between the extremes: the Activism of Prof. Eucken, and the Personal Idealism represented by Dr. Rashdall and others. Without absolute exhaustiveness of denotation, the main channels of modern theories of religion may thus be enumerated and characterized.

### II

Transcendental methods are still powerful in general philosophy. Of the intellectualist persuasion at the present time is the modified Hegelianism of Mr. Bradley, the Joab of its host, and a number of young writers of ability and insight who, though writing from various standpoints, are representative, each in his own way, of the different aspects of Transcendentalism. The names of Dr. McTaggart, Prof. A. E. Taylor, and Mr. Joachim are perhaps the best known. None of these writers have done much to facilitate the application of transcendental methods to religious philosophy, however, and when one remembers how strong was the influence of the brothers Caird, Dr. Hutchison Stirling, and T. H. Green, whose ethic was veritably a religion, a generation ago, the wane of intellectualist methods in religious philosophy is remarkable. These writers, the neo-Hegelians (to adopt their common designation), flourished in this country after the decline of Hegelianism in Germany, a fact which may partly account for their rapid loss of influence here; but had this been the sole cause, it would have led, not to the eclipse, but rather to the modification of Intellectualism in religious philosophy. The real reason is rather to be sought in the fact that Intellectualism is unfitted to harmonize with the requirements of religious experience and concrete religion. It provides a philosophy of theoretical religion, rather than a philosophy of living religion, of

faith, prayer, and feeling, of religion instinct with the believer's belief in it, of personal religion as felt and explained.

A few examples will make this manifest. A religious philosophy of this type must be deterministic. It may draw over the iron hand of its determinism a velvet glove, by declaring that since man's acts proceed from his own character, he is free. Yet, since the growth of the tree of character is strictly determined, on these principles, by causes outside and beyond our own responsibility, so also must be the growth of the fruit it bears. The velvet glove cannot lessen the irresistible grip it covers. Still more does the inadequacy of this type of thought reveal itself when it is realized that its religious character depends upon the identification of God and the Absolute. The Absolute is the ultimate principle of unity, and thus finally the sum total of all that is; for this type of thought its existence is a logical necessity. It is, of course, a moot point whether this can be demonstrated, and critics of the school insist that the Absolute is not a necessity of thought but a hypothesis. Avoiding the dispute, however, and accepting 'without prejudice' the necessary existence of the Absolute, it remains to ask whether we have any right to identify the Absolute with the Personal God of religion. It has long since been recognized that the 'proofs' of demonstrative theism fail logically to demonstrate the existence of God—for whilst, for example, the cosmological proof may give strong presumption of a First Cause, and the teleological of a Designer, they cannot show that this First Cause and Designer is a Personal Living God. Does it not appear that the attempt to identify God in the religious sense with the philosophical Absolute fails in an exactly similar manner? Still further is it evident that as merely a principle of unity, the Absolute has no qualities: as the sum total of all that is, it has all qualities, good and bad alike. What, therefore, can justify the selection of certain approved characteristics—those of love, righteousness, and justice, for example—to describe the Absolute rather than

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any others? Yet if the Absolute is to be identified with God as He is known in religion, this must be done. The Absolute may be described as a spiritual principle; none the less it is a pantheistic principle—Pan, not Theos.

This is now recognized by the Absolutist philosophers themselves. Mr. Bradley remarks that God is but an appearance of the Absolute. Dr. McTaggart is even more startling: 'The Absolute is not God,' says he, 'and in consequence there is no God.' These frank admissions manifest the cause of the collapse of the attempt to deduce a truly religious philosophy from such principles. A recent attempt by Prof. Watson, in his *Philosophical Basis of Religion*, scarcely seems destined to revive it. Dr. Inge, in his *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, has offered the aid of mysticism to underpin a philosophy of the Absolute. Its success depends upon an unworkable attempt to distinguish the Godhead, or Absolute, and God, and the straits to which he is reduced are revealed by his approval of the astonishing dictum of the late Father Tyrrell to the effect that 'The fiction of God's finitude and relativity is a necessity of man's religious life, but that the interests both of intellectual truth and of religion require us to recognize this fiction as such, under pain of mental incoherence on the one side, and idolatry on the other,' to which he himself adds, 'The notion of a finite God is one that the moralist can never afford to forget, nor the metaphysician to remember.' When philosophy is so little compatible with religion and morality that the latter must be bolstered up by the deliberate acceptance of an admitted philosophical fiction, surely the most relentless critic of Absolutism could not require a more utter condemnation of its unfitness as a religious philosophy.

It must be admitted that the ambition of these methods is inspiring. They know no half-measures. They intend a complete philosophy of the universe. The gallantry of the attempt need not be denied. It is a direct frontal attack upon the problem of all philosophy. We should cease to think if we ceased to hope that somehow, some-

where, at some time here or hereafter, thought may achieve its end. Were it not so, we should no longer trust our thought, for even as we think there comes an assurance that we shall not be put 'to permanent intellectual confusion.' But it is possible to pay too high a price for a supposed victory, and when a philosophical scheme mocks the facts of our experience, travesties those things which are the most real of realities to us, we feel that the price is too high, and we dispense with the philosophy rather than with the experience. Hence, it seems to me, the decline of intellectualist religious philosophy. Traces of it, oddly enough, are to be found in at least two of the religious movements of the day. The somewhat bizarre philosophizing that underlies the 'New Theology' movement is evidently inspired by German Transcendentalism, whilst the underlying notion of the Christian Scientists is derived from the same source, presumably through a former husband of Mrs. Eddy, who was acquainted in a not too perfect manner with its principles. It is one of the first prides of the youthful metaphysician that he can dispose of the seemingly solid universe in a few sentences; and the Christian Scientist declaring that matter is 'nothing' has learned the first truth of Idealism without having recognized that no Idealist, however he may disbelieve in the concrete existence of matter, doubts that there is something, though that something is not material substance, present in the universe and responsible for the sensations which he receives apparently from outside things.

This, however, is a digression, and the more pertinent question is whether a revival of Intellectualism may be expected in present-day religious philosophy. The intellectualist type of mind is ever with us, and strongly represented still in general philosophy. There may be, therefore—one almost writes, there must be—a revival, but no signs of its immediacy are discoverable in Germany, and the philosophical wind generally blows from across the North Sea. In America, despite Prof. Royce, the cause is weak, as it is also in Britain. Yet the field is waiting,

and the lists are open, and the goddess of Reason may not long await a champion ready to break a lance in her honour.

### III

Before purely empirical methods are reached, a half-way house must be passed wherein lodge two differing types of thought. The first is Activism. It is largely owing to the work of an old Kingswood boy, Mr. Boyce Gibson, who has both popularized and translated Prof. Eucken's work, that this new star has appeared in the British philosophical firmament. Prof. Eucken is neither Intellectualist nor Empiricist. It may truly be said that he belongs to himself. His views are original, and it is the central merit of his work that it insists so urgently that philosophy is not a detached criticism and investigation of life, but integrally a part of it, one of the forces that make life. Rightly considered, it is one of life's inspirations, and he views opposing systems not simply as logically consistent or inconsistent, but according to their effect upon life, their tendency to produce the right kind of life. Naturalism he opposes justly on the ground that it makes for the sensuous; Intellectualism he resists because it tends to abstraction and depersonalizes man. His own system is built upon an examination of life. He asks what is its meaning and value. Within it he finds a spiritual aspect, and he rejects the naturalistic explanation which regards this as a mere epiphenomenon. Thus he is led to invert the position which regards naturalism as the normal order, and things spiritual as accidental. Things spiritual become fundamental with him, and he considers that the basis of reality is an independent spiritual order, which he denotes as the Spiritual Life (*Geistesleben*), at once the life of man and of the world.

How, then, is man to get into touch with this Spiritual Life? The answer is that he must definitely break with the natural and sensuous. This is the negative movement, a process of conversion. A positive or constructive move-



ment follows, whereby man endeavours to shape his life in harmony and contact with the spiritual order, and assist it in transfiguring the world. For Prof. Eucken, work, not thought, is the key to open life's secret. Hence the badge of his views—Activism. The Spiritual Life is regarded not as a theory, but as a world-movement, a system of life culture, and only by sharing in it does man either develop himself or assist in developing it. Personality and freedom are facts realized within the Spiritual Life. Each man is a being-for-self (*Fürsichsein*), but this being-for-self is only clothed upon with personality within the Spiritual Life. Similarly true freedom is only found when it is realized in the Spiritual Life. The activistic note is still more clearly sounded in Prof. Eucken's handling of the old problem of subject and object. Here he raises a thought dominant throughout the whole of his system, when he declares that the solution of the problem is found not in contemplation, but in action. To put the matter loosely will perhaps make the idea most clear, though it must be remembered that Prof. Eucken is much more guarded and precise,—still the essential idea will be conveyed by pointing out that a successful action does not suggest a struggling subject grappling with a resisting object, but a harmonious result in which, so to speak, subject and object are blended. This suggests to Prof. Eucken that all problems are life-problems, that intellectual considerations will not ease them, but that the solution will come through action, by the development of the Spiritual Life. From this point of view he cheerfully embraces all antinomies, whether they be of freedom and necessity, of personalism and absolutism, of the many and the one, regarding each as one side of the truth, and stating that such oppositions are characteristic of the Spiritual Life which proceeds by successively and progressively overcoming them. He is thus enabled, at any rate in his theory, to find room for the most diverse aspects of life and thought, and to sanction each as representative of one part of a truth.

The system is widely comprehensive, and Mr. Gibson proffers it as a general rendezvous for all Idealists. Usually, however, the eclectic philosopher who borrows from every neighbour and invites all to his friendly feast in return, finds that each carries back what was borrowed, with something added for interest, till the hospitable board is bare. In his earlier writings, Prof. Eucken's Personalism is marked. Latterly, he has tended towards Absolutism. It would not surprise me to see his pupils split into a right and a left wing, the one returning, somewhat more humanized by his influence, to abstract methods; the other reverting through Personalism to Empiricism. Mediating schools are outwardly most reasonable, combining the advantages and obliterating the disadvantages of opposing tendencies; but balanced between two stools, they usually fulfil the proverb and fall to the ground. Prof. Eucken is by no means purely and only an eclectic. His originality has already been acknowledged; none the less, his system certainly attempts to combine the advantages of Transcendentalism and Empiricism, to have at once necessity and freedom, absoluteness and personality. These two great streams of thought, perennial in philosophy, represent what Prof. Eucken would call, not merely different *Lehrsystemen*, but *Lebenssystemen*; not systems of doctrine, but of life; and they are not easily made to flow in one channel.

Moreover, if Prof. Eucken is to afford a *bonâ fide* type of religious philosophy, the relation of God and the Spiritual Life must be more distinctly made out. Prof. Eucken is very sparing in his use of the term God. Mr. Gibson deals with the Spiritual Life as the Life of God with man. Whilst this seems possible, it does not seem inevitable. The Absolute may be spiritual in character, but it is not God, and the Spiritual Life seems capable of a non-theistic interpretation. Without denying the character of Prof. Eucken's views as a religious Idealism, one would like to see it more closely defined.

The affinities of Prof. Eucken with the Pragmatists

will have been obvious. In certain ways, the Personal Idealist school comes nearer still, for they join the Pragmatists in laying intense stress upon the independence and freedom of personality. The difference between Dr. Rashdall, who may be taken as representing the religious philosophy of Personal Idealism, and Prof. James, the acknowledged leader of the more religiously-minded Pragmatists, is that Dr. Rashdall bases his philosophy of religion upon a metaphysical argument, whilst the method of Prof. James is purely psychological.

Dr. Rashdall follows the usual Idealist position up to a certain point, but refuses to merge each individual self within one universal self, regarding the universe as composed of the creative and created minds, and the Absolute as a society, 'God and souls.' He is thus enabled to safeguard the independence and freedom of each personality, a result similar to that arrived at in a different manner by Prof. James. He considers that the fact that science shows that the material universe existed prior to human minds, is sufficient, on Idealistic principles, to conclude that it existed in an eternal mind, or God. It is an advantage that a philosophical defence of the independence of personality, a matter so important to religion, should be available from a metaphysical as well as from an empirical standpoint, and the metaphysically-minded will prefer Dr. Rashdall's route. To many minds, however, in addition to the precarious nature of all and any inferences by which the existence of God is assumed from a philosophical argument, this method seems to lack the directness and immediacy that characterize the concrete religious sense of God. We seem to reach a First Cause, not a Father, and a logical justification of the beliefs of religion is far removed from the justification those beliefs themselves give to the believer.

#### IV

There remains the purely empirical method, which with several obvious disadvantages, none the less draws

nearest to the actual fact of religion—which after all is the *raison d'être* of every religious philosophy. The transcendental and metaphysical methods yield a philosophy of the theory of religion, but that theory seems remote from the concrete practice of men. It has too philosophical a flavour; in a word, is slightly artificial. The empirical method does not invite one to an abstract argument before it comes to grip with its problem. It starts directly and immediately by pointing out that the experience of the religious is a psychological fact of magnitude and importance. Whether others accept it or not, it is one of the facts of life, one of the forces that make life, and make men. Simply and solely upon these grounds, it has a right to claim a careful and impartial investigation. Upon undertaking such investigation, an appeal to history witnesses to the persistence of this experience, whilst anthropology reveals its universality, showing that as far back as we can trace, humanity has been inveterately religious—so much so indeed that the origin of religion is a matter of pure conjecture. The next step is to ask what feature or features may be said to be common to all religious experiences—for the very fact that we attach the term religion alike to Christianity, Mohammedanism, idolatry, and even to certain practices of the lowliest savages, implies that, amidst vast differences of realization and expression, there is some common factor. Put into the broadest terms, such a factor is revealed in this, that religion is man's belief in an Order higher than human, and his endeavour to enter into such relation with that Order as is necessary for the right adjustment of his life. It seems to me that in this broad fact, to which all religion bears witness, there is the foundation of a religious philosophy. It is not difficult to show that the only tenable explanation of this Higher Order is that which identifies it with God, and man's right relation to it opens the way for the philosophy of God, nature, and man. It is not suggested, of course, that this interpretation is consciously realized in every case. It belongs only to the more developed forms.

But none the less, the lower forms are the foreshadowing, the embryo, of the maturer experience up to which their development must tend. The inquiry may accordingly, for philosophical purposes, be confined to the higher forms.

The question now arises, Is this experience objectively true? It may, of course, be denied, but surely it is a somewhat desperate proceeding to write down a fact of such permanent, widespread, and potent character as a persistent delusion, the fantasy of disordered brains. It is not a hopeful method of establishing one's own scepticism on the point by declaring that the vast majority of the human race, to which the sceptic himself belongs, is hopelessly deluded, for something more assuring than the *ipse dixit* of the unbeliever himself will be needed to convince us that he, almost alone, has escaped this insanity of humanity. It seems to me that if any fact of human experience has a right to be regarded as objectively true, religious experience has. Even the fact that a small minority (usually the over-sophisticated) claim to have no acquaintance whatever with such experience does not affect the general conclusion, any more than the colour-blind and tone-deaf disprove the general laws of light and sound.

The empirical method in religious philosophy, therefore, starts and proceeds in the same way as philosophy generally. All philosophy has human experience for its raw material; its business is to co-ordinate, systematize, and explain it. Religious philosophy may similarly begin with religious experience, and deal with it in the same way. Intellectualist methods endeavour to show that some metaphysical world-scheme can have a religious or quasi-religious interpretation. The Empiricist regards such a course as unnecessary. Philosophy does not justify experience: it explains it; indeed, experience is the final court of appeal by which philosophies are themselves justified. Similarly, he believes that a religious philosophy is not required to justify religion, but only faithfully to explain its implications, and to relate them to the sum total of other parts of experience amongst which religion is manifested.

### 38 *The Present Position in Religious Philosophy*

Upon this broad foundation it is possible to build different philosophical explanations, no doubt; but whereas amongst the Intellectualists a smart argument or a clever dialectical victory decides the superiority of one view over another, upon empirical lines the decisive factors must and can be only superior fidelity and adequacy in meeting the given facts. The facts decide, and tactics count for nothing.

An empirical religious philosophy, with its psychological method, is well fitted to be the introduction to theology. Our theology is primarily based upon Christian experience (even so theological an epistle as that to the Romans is first and foremost the expression of St. Paul's experience of the Christ). Empirical methods permit of a close following of the facts of history and experience. The Transcendentalists read Christian history and doctrine in the light of a dialectic. Prof. Eucken also makes wholesale *a priori* interpretations of both, in order to exhibit Christianity as the expression of the movement of the Spiritual Life. Mysticism is notoriously indifferent to historical fact, and Dr. Rashdall's Christology is of a very liberal kind, a consequence not altogether unconnected with his philosophical premisses. It is true that some of the more exuberant Pragmatists, who are the chief exponents at the present time of the empirical method—though the method is not necessarily wedded to Pragmatism—with a pride in their tolerance, talk of Pragmatism as equally friendly to Polytheism and Pluralism as to Theism and Monism. But even upon Pragmatic principles, Theism, and, if not an absolute, at least a virtual Monism, may be shown to claim preference. The great virtue of the empirical method is the directness with which it is applicable to the evidence of Christian experience: it joins philosophy straight to the religion of the heart. For this reason, if for no other, the popularity of the empirical and psychological method in present-day religious philosophy may be welcomed by the Christian believer and theologian alike.

ERIC S. WATERHOUSE.



## JONATHAN SWIFT IN PULPIT AND PRESS

*The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D.* Edited by TEMPLE SCOTT, with a biographical introduction by W. E. H. LECKY. Twelve vols. (George Bell & Sons. 1897 to 1908.)

*The Life of Jonathan Swift.* By HENRY CRAIK, M.A. (John Murray. 1882.)

*English Men of Letters Series.* Edited by JOHN MORLEY. Swift. By LESLIE STEPHEN. (Macmillan & Co.)

*A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England.* By G. R. BALLEINE, M.A., Vicar of St. James, Bermondsey. (Longmans. 1908.)

SWIFT'S best work belongs pre-eminently to what De Quincey calls the literature of power as distinguished from the literature of knowledge; in other words its object is not to teach but to move, its function being that of an oar rather than of a rudder.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lecky's introduction and Mr. Temple Scott's annotations in the fine edition of Swift's works which we owe to the enterprise of Messrs. George Bell & Sons, supply most of the material which will be drawn upon here, to give a correct understanding of Swift's position both as preacher and writer.

The keynote to Swift's character is found in the reproach, which providence and nature had conspired to fasten upon him, of being an alien because not born on British soil. His ancestry, indeed, on both sides was purely English. It was also connected with those parts of the country, the Northern Midlands and Yorkshire, traditionally famous for hardness of head, clearness of brain, keenness of insight and obstinacy of moral purpose. He

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<sup>1</sup> *De Quincey's Works.* Masson's edition, Vol. XI, 54.

was born with a grievance, having, to quote his own words, been 'dropped' in Ireland. Thus, he exclaims bitterly, 'I am a Teague,<sup>1</sup> or an Irishman, or what people please.' Critics who, following Matthew Arnold, have not perhaps used more of his methods than is implied in his catchwords, have mentioned the Celtic element in Swift's genius. From what has just been said, this quality, if it exists, must have been a natural and not a geographical gift, for Swift's veins contain not a drop of Celtic blood. The forces, on the other hand, of English residence and connexion may be detected in Swift's most distinctive characteristics. The hardness and precision, joined to much unselfishness and occasional generosity in his pecuniary dealings, were Yorkshire endowments. So, too, was not a little of the bluntness and coarseness that, not disagreeably emphasizing his meaning to the ears of his contemporaries, revolt the decorous susceptibilities of a later age. Moreover, equine experts in the description of Gulliver's Houyhnhnms have discovered touches surely significant, they say, of the quick eye for the points of a horse and the failings of a man, that is pre-eminently a northern heritage. Many, however, of the traits most conspicuous in Swift had as little to do with Yorkshire as they had with Ireland.

Jonathan Swift's grandfather, Thomas Swift, married Elizabeth Dryden, the niece of Sir Erasmus Dryden, and the direct ancestress of the poet, playwright, and scholar who throughout the second half of the seventeenth century held a real dictatorship in the republic of English letters. 'Cousin Swift,' said Dryden, after reading his younger kinsman's earliest verses, 'you will never be a poet.'

Swift, the younger of two children, remained loyal

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<sup>1</sup> In the seventeenth century and afterwards this word was often used much in the same sense as the Paddy of a later date. The original Teague was a character in Howard's comedy *The Committee* (known afterwards as *The Honest Thieves*, played admirably by Johnstone) always blundering and brewing mischief quite innocently, pouring lamp oil down his own throat and giving it to his master's guests instead of sherry and water.

throughout life to the religion of his birth; Dryden, the eldest of a family of fourteen sons and daughters, turned Papist in the year of James II's accession. For the rest each, equally proud of his pedigree—in Dryden's case really a good one—was too too apt to display the awed admiration for rank and title seldom wanting in the ill bred.

The Swifts, it has been seen, were originally pure Yorkshire; the Drydens belonged to Cumberland. The Drydens during Elizabeth's reign settled in Northamptonshire, at or near the village of Aldwinkle, John Dryden's birthplace; the Swifts found a resting-place in Herefordshire. Here, under Charles I, Thomas Swift, Jonathan's grandfather, held the vicarage of Goodrich; Sir Leslie Stephen has discovered what he rightly calls some remarkable lines commemorating the family incidents now recalled.

Jonathan Swift  
Had the gift  
By fatherige, motherige,  
And by brotherige  
To come from Gotheridge.

When or how the Herefordshire clergyman met his future wife, Elizabeth Dryden, is not known. One incident shows him to have been the progenitor of his grandson's high Toryism not less than his high Churchmanship. Through thick and thin, parson Thomas Swift stood for the Stuarts. Happening to be in a town held by the king, he asked what he could do for his majesty, and suited the action to the question by laying down his coat as a preliminary gift. 'Not worth much,' said the governor, shaking his head. 'Try then,' said Thomas Swift, 'whether you could make more of my waistcoat.' That garment disclosed a lining of three hundred gold pieces. The Goodrich clergyman died in 1658, two years before the Restoration; he thus missed all opportunity of reward for what he had lost and suffered in supporting the sovereign against his parliament. His eldest son, Godwin, derived substantial benefits from the Restoration. A

London barrister, whose chambers were in Gray's Inn, he enjoyed a lucrative practice, and improved his professional fortunes by three wealthy marriages. He remained in England till he had exhausted the remunerative possibilities of his London position and had laid by a solid but not, as he thought, a sufficient sum. His first wife had been a relation of the Duke of Ormond, then the Lord Deputy of Ireland, where lawyers seem to have been more scarce than has usually been the case since. To Ireland, therefore, with a promise of official help, went Godwin Swift. Well off when he landed, he was soon put in the way of becoming a very wealthy man, and received for his first promotion the attorneyship-general of the Palatinate of Tipperary; in that office he turned to the best account his many opportunities of successful speculation. He soon found himself worth £3,000 a year. Meanwhile, the needy relatives, who had come under Godwin Swift's protection to mend their fortunes in Ireland, were generally doing well. In 1666 his brother Jonathan, having taken for his wife a Leicester lady, Abigail Erick, was made steward of the King's Inn, Dublin, by way of recompense for his father's sufferings and losses in the royal cause. His tenure of office did not last long, for in the April of 1667 he died, leaving his widow with an infant daughter, as well as with an early prospect of another child. On November 30, 1667, within a little more than half a year of her husband's death, the widow gave birth at 7 Hoey's Court, Dublin, to her posthumous son, Jonathan the younger.

Swift, when stringing together a few loose memoranda about himself, in a vein of quaint topsy-turviness, speaks of having felt the consequences of his parents' marriage, not only through the whole course of his education, but during the greater part of his life. Swift's earliest cause of resentment against fate was his having been born out of the country to which both his parents belonged. The next wrong of which his complaints were bitterest was that having been born in Ireland, and having stayed there

a year before he was taken to England, he did not die before being brought back to it.

While his mother was passing the early days of her widowhood at Leicester, the little Jonathan was in the charge of his fondly attached nurse at Whitehaven. Such pains did she take with him that, before his third birthday, he could read any chapter in the Bible. His mother, who fixed her abode in Leicester, now gladly accepted a proposal from her brother-in-law, the wealthy Godwin Swift, to look after his nephew's education in Ireland. Swift's Heath was the house at which little Jonathan Swift was brought up by his uncle. The grant of this property in Kilkenny formed a substantial addition, at the instance of Charles II, to the rewards previously received by the Rev. Thomas Swift's son for his father's services to Charles I. The Herefordshire clergyman, after having sold all his possessions for the royalist cause, raised and commanded in person a troop of dragoons on the king's side in the Parliamentary wars. The thoroughly militant Churchman discharged, on the battlefield, other duties more suited to his holy calling. Among the treasures that have survived to the present century at Swift's Heath is a beautifully chased chalice used by Thomas Swift in administering the communion to the wounded and dying where they had fallen; together with these sacred relics there are at Swift's Heath the cradle and robe belonging to Jonathan Swift in his infancy, and a portrait of the Dean as he appeared in his old age. The cradle is now in Brede Church, Sussex. His grandfather, the Herefordshire clergyman, was at once the prophecy and the type of his more famous and not less militant descendant.

Godwin Swift gave to his nephew the shelter of his house first, but he could not make good to the child the lack of the mother's training and nurture that go so far towards deciding a man's character. To Jonathan Swift the loss was particularly deplorable and disastrous. The moral fibre inherited by him from his Yorkshire pro-

genitors became coarse and hard just when it ought to have been soft and plastic. The bitter and desolating experiences of one who was practically an orphan became his daily lot. He had always been inclined to a morbid and extreme sensitiveness; he was proud, shy, reserved and morbidly introspective. The relative with whom he now lived regarded him as peevish, sulky, and morose, instead of, as was the case, devoured by childish misery. Everything went wrong with him. At Swift's Heath may still be seen the pond in which he used to angle. 'I once,' he said years afterwards, 'felt a great fish at the end of my line. I drew it up almost to the ground, but it dropped in, and I had the first of all the future disappointments which have made my life a curse.' The boy was in every way his own worst, indeed his only serious, enemy; he had the ungracious and thankless habits of manner and speech which repelled affection instead of attracting it. 'Your uncle Godwin,' said a former visitor at Swift's Heath, 'surely gave you a good education.' 'Yes,' growled out Jonathan, 'the education of a dog.' 'Well, then,' was the reply, 'try to have a dog's gratitude.' Swift was at Kilkenny School between the years 1673 and 1682. Whatever the learning he brought away from it, the place known as the Eton of Ireland had been good enough for two other distinguished contemporaries, Berkeley, the philosopher and Bishop of Cloyne, and William Congreve the dramatist.

The Swift family was a very large one; in addition to his own children and his nephew Jonathan, Godwin Swift had several nephews and nieces for whom he was expected to do something. His own health began to fail; eventually he died insane. Whatever treatment he had received, Jonathan Swift, in his then state of mind, would have seen in it a wrong inflicted, not a benefit conferred. Whatever the circumstances of his childhood, they would not have prevented his training himself into a hatred of his species. He abused, indeed, his uncle the more bitterly because to this relative he owed the very best



education then to be had in Ireland. The finishing touches were given at Trinity College, Dublin. Thither Godwin Swift sent Jonathan when he was about fifteen. Our concern here is with Jonathan Swift's performances or peculiarities as publicist or Churchman. In neither of these capacities had his college days much influence upon his future writings or beliefs, unless perhaps to increase the amount and bitterness of the moral gall which from the first he had been secreting, and which his pen was now to become the agency for ejecting, in a literary form, at any of his fellow creatures who came within range.

On paper Swift showed himself foul in expression rather than in mind. His coarseness sometimes, indeed, exceeded the coarseness of a coarse age. From licentiousness of word or thought he is always as completely free as at every period was his moral conduct. His circumstances or tastes never allowed his genius the advantage of systematic culture or of refinement, moral, intellectual and social. His congenital brutality of manner and phrase was confirmed and increased by the blackguardism of the society, the draymen, porters, and tramps with which his poverty compelled him to herd during the excursions which he made from Moor Park for the study of life and character.

Swift's views of life and literary activities were throughout conditioned by his circumstances. Swift was still without distinction, and only, by the special grace of the authorities, scraped through the Trinity examinations for his degree, when there happened two events that left a permanent mark on his personal fortunes as well as his moral and political temper. James II fled from Whitehall, and the Whig aristocracy replaced him on the English throne by his daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange. The change undoubtedly had the immediate effect of embittering Swift, High Churchman though he always remained, against the Stuarts and the Roman Church as the causes of a revolution highly inconvenient to himself and disastrous to the sole well-to-do relatives he had.

Before William III had fairly established himself in his English kingdom, Ireland was given over to social and political chaos. Swift's relatives consulted the safety of their persons by surrendering their property to a peasantry now in open rebellion, or in headlong flight to the other side of St. George's Channel. That last impulse carried Jonathan Swift along with it. The first point reached in his flight was Leicester; here already, during the early days of her widowhood, a refuge had been found by his mother. Beneath her wing, or in her neighbourhood, it might have been well for her son to have remained longer than he did; for she united a kindly heart with motherly good sense, exemplary habits, a cleanly, healthy mind in a brisk and active body. Swift had now reached the impressionable age of one-and-twenty. Till he became his mother's guest at Leicester he had never known female society of any kind. He now formed an acquaintance with a certain Betty Jones. The Leicester folk predicted that something would come of it. Swift retaliated by calling them a parcel of wretched fools and liars, admitting indeed the soft imputations of amorous dalliance, but adding he had learnt enough, without going half a mile beyond the university, to renounce now and for ever all thoughts of matrimony. The 'cold temper' on which he rather piqued himself, and the absence of any outlook, placed the sincerity of this protestation beyond doubt. Early manhood found him bored, restless, dissatisfied with himself, actively detesting most of his fellow creatures, and passively disgusted with the rest. Whatever the career they have mapped out for themselves, dissatisfaction and disappointment such as were now Swift's lot are apt with ordinary youths to result in a spiritual crisis. In Swift's case something of that kind would have been the more natural because even in his mind higher thoughts might have occasionally mingled with his long-formed purpose of taking orders in the Church of England. Swift, however, knew no such epoch in his inner life. Nor, as a fact, did he ever make practical acquaintance with any

process of spiritual development. Against such an experience there militated not only his own idiosyncrasy, intolerant of the supernatural or mysterious, but the whole temper of the time.

Before the Evangelical Revival under George III, the British Isles were, and since the seventeenth century had been, a pagan country. To quote Mr. Balleine's excellent *History of the Evangelical Party*, Swift's age was the glacial epoch in our Church history. Puritan enthusiasm had been driven out at the Restoration. High Church enthusiasm had departed with the Non-jurors (not to return till the Oxford Movement in the following thirties). As was his age, so was Jonathan Swift's theology. If his pulpit addresses did not raise the religious standard of his time, they were never sent below it. No fear of losing friends in high places prevented him from lashing fashionable vices. His fault, indeed, was that he scolded the age for its shortcomings rather than aimed at winning it to piety or, at least, virtue.

Obscure, despised, and without any reasonable hope of better fortunes, Swift, as Sir William Temple's amanuensis, reached Moor Park in 1688. Twelve years later he finally left it with an established literary reputation. When William III came to the throne, he had never made a penny in his life; he had not a penny of his own. Chafing against his position and what seemed his destiny, like, in his own words, 'a conjured spirit that would do mischief if I did not give it employment,' he determined to be no longer a burden upon his mother. That lady happened to possess a notable and influential, though distant, relative in Sir William Temple the diplomatist, who had also, more than any other individual, helped to bring about the marriage between William of Orange and James II's daughter Mary. Temple had before now been much in Ireland with his father, Sir John Temple, Master of the Irish Rolls, and a friend of Godwin Swift. This eminent and not unamiable man now lived in retirement at Moor Park near Farnham, Surrey.

Shortly after the coronation of William and Mary he took Swift into his house as amanuensis at an annual salary of twenty pounds in addition to his board and lodging. The lad was scarcely installed in his new duties when a fresh grievance not only embittered him against his employer but intensified an indiscriminate hatred of his species. Temple, he complained, never permitted him the privilege of conversation, nor a chair at the same table as himself. Jonathan's own brother, 'little parson Tom,' toadied Temple, whose chaplain he had become, and fared infinitely better than did Jonathan, dining at the steward's table, admitted to read prayers in the servants' hall at ten shillings a month; Tom was thus put in the way of marrying a citizen's widow, and of fast mounting towards the top of the ladder ecclesiastical. So, in the *Essay on the Fates of Clergymen*, runs Swift's account. Fortunately Jonathan Swift's strong intellect came to his rescue, and, though it did not heal his sense of chronic grievance, gave him solace in employment which, serving at first as a distraction, soon laid the foundation of fame and power. Swift's earliest attempts with his pen were in what then passed for poetry, and were known as Pindarics, the fashion for which had been set by Abraham Cowley. These were the failures provoking from Dryden the taunt already mentioned. This gibe, however, at once embittered the young author and urged him to the successful search of where his real strength lay; his hatred of Dryden for its utterance helped to inspire the most stinging passages in the *Battle of the Books* and the severest satire in the more or less ecclesiastical piece, the *Tale of a Tub*, written about the same time. For a political if not theological writer he had found himself in the best of all schools at Moor Park. Though his employer, as we have seen, kept his amanuensis at a becoming distance, he could not but find out his remarkable aptitude for political affairs, and his capacity for delivering opinions on them not less sound, practical, and responsible than if, instead of being a pauper hireling imported from a college attic,

he had been reared among statesmen and had already gone into training for a privy councillor. The great man, therefore, gradually fell into the way of intimate talk with him on high matters of State. From the servants' hall or his little study near the footman's pantry and the still-room, Swift by degrees obtained promotion to intercourse with the distinguished visitors at the house, including, as these did, not only persons no less influential than the new king's favourite confidant, the Duke of Portland, but William III himself, an occasional guest when Temple's gout prevented his being on duty at the palace. These experiences formed the style of Swift's political writings, investing them with a tone of authority and giving evidence, unostentatious, but to all who read them convincing, of close familiarity with the secret history of his time, and with the men who helped to make it. At the same time his local proximity to the servants' hall, and his intimacy with the ways of the menial varieties in great houses, set him on planning satire of another kind in the *Directions to Servants*.<sup>1</sup> Thus far his preparation for the press. About the pulpit he had at least thought as much; for the mediaeval union of Churchman-statesman remained in force till after the Bishop of Bristol, as English plenipotentiary, signed the Treaty of Utrecht. Swift, however, had made up his mind not to take orders before the king had a prebend ready for him. Of that William himself had made an offer on discovering his clever young friend's disinclination to become, as the king had proposed making him, a Captain of Horse. Meanwhile the preliminaries for Swift's ordination were being prepared. Temple's influence secured him an *ad eundem*<sup>2</sup> M.A. at Oxford, 1692. The actual admission to holy orders took place a few years later, during the interval between his

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XI, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Between Jonathan Swift's college days at Dublin and Samuel Johnson's at Oxford some analogy may be traced. Perhaps the failure of an application to Swift on behalf of Johnson to secure the lexicographer a Dublin degree may explain Johnson's bitterness against Swift.

first and second stay at Moor Park. The later sojourn confirmed the full-fledged ecclesiastic in the position to which Temple's favour had introduced him two years earlier; it also opened up a prospect of promotion to a still more valuable place. In those days it was the orthodox thing for an aristocratic household's clerical hanger-on to become enamoured of, and probably to marry my lady's waiting-maid in the servants' hall. Swift, therefore, did but comply with custom when he surrendered his heart to a girl with gipsy eyes and hair whom he had seen as a child on his first reaching Sir William Temple's, who now had blossomed into a highly attractive if not a beautiful young woman, and his connexion with whom was to give the name of Stella, as Macaulay put it, associations only less painful and tragic than have gathered round the loves of Héloïse and Abelard. For the rest, while at Moor Park Swift picked up most of the theological knowledge he ever possessed. In particular, from a top shelf in Temple's library he really improved his acquaintance with the Fathers into whom he had first begun to dip as a relief to his parochial drudgery at Kilroot. Of that ecclesiastical knowledge there are signs even in the *Battle of the Books*, though naturally not to the same extent as in the *Tale of a Tub*. Both these compositions were written late in the seventeenth century, some years before their simultaneous publication. *The Battle of the Books*, however, only so far comes within our scope as it illustrates the chief article of Swift's faith in the capacity of Anglican clergyman. This was unconditional and indiscriminate hatred of Protestant Nonconformity and all its works, especially in respect of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Thus with the raging, blaspheming maniac, as fit to have a regiment of dragoons, he couples the solemn madman dreaming dreams and seeing best in the dark, as suited to preside over a congregation of dissenters. If, however, Swift abhorred Geneva, he equally distrusted and detested Rome. The *Letter to a Young Clergyman* expresses his



satisfaction at having lived to see classical quotations entirely driven from the pulpit, especially Latin, which was a remnant of popery. So in the *Tale of a Tub*, curiously called by some of his commentators a religious treatise. The three sons who came to their father at a birth, Peter, Martin, and Jack, are respectively Popery, Anglicanism, and Protestant Dissent. The coats given to these sons are not so much the garments of the Israelites as the doctrines and faith of Christianity, divinely fitted to all times, places, and circumstances. Christianity's corruptions chiefly denounced by the Fathers, and especially attractive to Peter, were covetousness, ambition, and pride; Swift personifies them as three mistresses—the Duchess d'Argent, Mademoiselle de Grands Titres, and the Countess d'Orgueil. The Vatican's additions to the Apostolic faith are figured by Peter's introduction of shoulder knots. When the Papists cannot find what they want in Scripture they go to tradition. When Peter fruitlessly searches his father's will for some specific instruction he invents the required phrase by picking out all the letters which make it up. So with the Roman ritual: 'Brothers, if you remember we heard a fellow say, when we were boys, how he heard my father's man say that he would advise his sons to get gold lace on their coats as soon as ever they had money to buy it.' 'That's very true,' was the reply. So without more ado they got the largest gold lace in the parish and walked about as fine as lords. Similarly the forged decretals and bulls are indicated by the points with silver tags and now declared by Peter to be absolutely *jure paterno*.

Swift's attitude to Revelation and to religious sanctions generally a little later than the *Tale of the Tub* (1708) discloses itself in the composition which, more completely perhaps than any other single piece, brings together the most distinctive features of the grim irony and even grimmer humour that formed his chief instruments of controversy. First among the *Objections to Abolishing Christianity* comes the consideration that great wits, if

not allowed a deity to revile or renounce, will speak evil of dignities, abuse the government, and actually reflect upon the Whig ministry. De Quincey had no very high opinion, moral, intellectual, or literary, of Swift, but here is a specimen of banter, not to mention many others of exactly the same kind which will remind every one of the satiric vein running through the essay on *Murder as a Fine Art*. Consider, too, we are reminded, how cheaply Christianity enables the meanest of mediocrities to purchase a reputation for being persons of great parts. Who, for instance, supposes Asdil, Coward, Tindal, Toland and forty more would ever have been renowned for wit apart from their trumpery attacks on Revelation. What, therefore, could be more unjust than, by abolishing Christianity, to deprive others, with as much claim to notoriety as themselves, of the easiest subjects on which to vent their malice and display their genius. Then there is what Swift calls the 'perfect cavil' that the abolition of Sunday and consequently of religious observances would convert the structures now in the hands of the clergy into theatres and other public edifices. What, even as matters are, does Christianity prove a hindrance to business or pleasure? The churches being open does not prevent the taverns and coffee-houses from being open too. Even if it did, what rendezvous of gallantry is more convenient or common than a church, or what place shows off a new dress to more people than a pew, whether on the ground floor or in the gallery? Where again are there so many conveniences or enticements to sleep? But, continues the satirist, one is told that we should be much easier without the threats against loose livers and talkers, fraught, as they are, with so much that is disquieting, if we could get religion out of the way. As a fact, he asks, are any considerable number of people kept by theological constraints from indulging in drink or anything else to their heart's content? and, moreover, do not staunch unbelievers obtain from religion materials to keep peevish children quiet, and agreeably to vary conversational topics on a tedious winter night?

Of himself in the pulpit Swift said he could preach nothing but political pamphlets. The volumes in Bohn's edition occupied with his writings on religion show that, though they seldom seem to have been actually preached,<sup>1</sup> he could compose perfectly orthodox, if not animating or soul-searching sermons. Which, or whether any of these discourses were actually declaimed by their writer from the pulpits of Kilroot, Laracor, or St. Patrick's seems uncertain. In some cases an accompanying memorandum states that a sermon was actually preached, sometimes at Laracor but more often at St. Patrick's, Dublin, thus suggesting the inference that most of these discourses were not delivered, perhaps not written with a view to delivery. One of the most important is on what Swift calls *The entirely reasonable doctrine of the Trinity*. Others relate to various matters of Christian belief or practice. The most important and longest discourse of all is a *Project for the Advancement of Religion and the Reformation of Manners*. This purports to come from a 'person of quality.' It was written by Swift as a socio-religious pamphlet, and impresses on the Court the duty of setting a good moral example in small things and great, of banishing evil livers from its precincts, and of providing churches for London and other places, as well as relief for the poor with the money now squandered on vicious luxury and idle show. Atterbury was not the only prelate who acted upon some of these hints, and, while at the same time Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, is known to have greatly increased church accommodation, to have done much for mitigating distress in necessitous neighbourhoods and in other ways practically to have protested against the divorce between a State-Church religion and the good works needed to make that religion a reality. The homilies can indeed scarcely be called religious if, according to Matthew Arnold's definition, religion be morality quickened by emotion. The chief truths of Christianity being mysteries, Swift seri-

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. IV, pp. 107-230.

ously argues it would be unbecoming a clergyman to attempt their explanation. An Anglican official's duty, in his own view, was to defend the post Providence had assigned to him, and to gain over as many enemies as he could. There may be a reminiscence here of St. Paul's language about being made 'all things to all men that I might by all means save some';<sup>1</sup> the methods of the Apostle and of the Dean were different. The latter's apologists have, however, recalled that the great Gentile evangelist could himself appeal to fear as well as to love, and that two who, concerning faith, had made shipwreck were delivered by him to Satan, 'that they may learn not to blaspheme.'<sup>2</sup> The terrible Dean thought he might reclaim sinners by bullying and browbeating them as much as an Old Bailey barrister browbeats and bullies a difficult witness. He was, he protested, not answerable for any doubts of his own which were the consequence of the divinely implanted reason, provided only he concealed those doubts from others, used his best endeavours to subdue them in himself, and did not let them influence the conduct of his own life. Neither directly nor by oblique innuendo does Swift hint or countenance the faintest doubt of revealed religion's most mysterious verities. If he never dwells on the Atonement, it is not necessarily because he thinks it less important than did another Tory publicist of the seventeenth century, Samuel Johnson, a sincerely devout man according to his lights, but because the Tory Churchmen of Swift's day had given no attention to a truth which Wesley was practically the first to impress upon the religious mind of the age. Swift's devotion to the State-Church was as undoubted as his intolerance of all extra-Anglican Protestantism was obstinate; and his refusal was firm not to be drawn into any Jacobite intrigues if only because the Stuarts were Papists. To his loyalty as a Churchman everything else was subordinated. At the beginning of the eighteenth

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 22.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Tim. i. 20.

century he had everything to hope from the Whigs; he risked the loss of their favour by his criticisms on their religious policy, expressed or implied in the compositions which, written or at least finished in Ireland soon after the *Tale of a Tub*, explained more clearly and fully the ecclesiastical ideas first broached in the *Tale*. One thing is certain. Swift's religious faith was not less comprehensive or deep than that of the half rationalizing, half Romanizing Anglican leaders who have come into vogue one hundred and sixty-five years after his death. From what has come down to us of Swift's writings, one knows what he would have had to say about those who, placing Tradition above Scripture, mechanical acquiescence in dogma above faith, exalt the accidents of costume over the essentials of Christianity. His theory and practice alike show Swift to have been sincere in his beliefs, whatever the physical malformation or disease of brain or body that saddened his life, darkened his decline, and explains so much of what is repulsive in his language or hideous in his imagination. Swift, as has been here shown, aptly personifies the orthodox free-thinking Churchmanship which was the mode in the eighteenth century. The one respect on which his latest successors have improved on their forerunner is that, like the age in which they live, they do not reproduce his coarseness; though both in action and thought they are marked by a vulgarity, characteristic indeed of the time that now is, but scarcely less offensive perhaps than coarseness itself. In politics the Rev. Worldly Wiseman now deprecates partisanship, unlike indeed Swift, who openly declared himself a Tory first and a divine afterwards. Swift's superiority, when asserted, to the prejudices of his cloth, involved no wholesale rejection of the inspired narrative like that proclaimed by many to-day. He was only, as he himself puts it, offended to find St. Paul's allegories and other figures of Grecian eloquence converted into articles of faith; in the next sentence he takes the old Bible and Prayer-Book view that God's mercy is over all His works,

and condemns the clerical tendency to lessen that mercy too much.<sup>1</sup>

To Swift at any rate the Trinity seemed a doctrine commended not more by revelation than by reason. So far as scrupulously strict adherence to mysteries and dogmas could make him one, Jonathan Swift in a practically heathen age was an orthodox and blameless Christian. Samuel Johnson himself would have admitted him, as a Church of England man, to have been of loyalty beyond suspicion or reproach, practically demonstrated as it was again and again by a refusal to improve his own worldly fortunes at the price of supporting the party to which Temple's patronage had attached him, but which he left because the Whig leaders carried favour with Dissent. To distrust and discourage 'enthusiasm,' a term including anything that approached strong feeling in spiritual matters, was a tradition inherited by Swift and the High Churchmen of his day from their seventeenth-century predecessors. It accorded equally with Swift's personal disposition and the temper of the time not in these matters to wear his heart upon his sleeve, even to run the risk of being taken for an infidel rather than a hypocrite. It was Swift's zeal for the Church of England which first brought him into touch with the chief statesmen of his time or which brought him to the front in English journalism when the leading article first began to supersede the pamphlet. Swift's work as a journalist was dealt with by the present writer some time ago in this REVIEW.<sup>2</sup> Here it is enough to define Swift's place in the story of the English newspaper by a reference to the political, social, and miscellaneous pieces, some now given for the first time, contained in the present edition. Swift's identification with the party he served in his *Craftsman* or *Examiner* articles never made him forget his obligations to the public, and especially the need of dealing in

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, *Thoughts on Religion*, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> *London Quarterly Review*, No. 197, 'The Evolution of a Leader.'



a genuinely popular tone with the political persons and principles he made it his duty to support. If Socrates was the first thinker to bring down philosophy from the gods to men, no other writer before Swift presented to the miscellaneous readers called into existence by Addison's and Steele's periodical sheets, the great issues of eighteenth-century statesmanship at home and abroad through the medium of words which the experts of Whitehall could not afford to ignore and which the simple citizen could not fail to understand. In the last month of 1909 died Frederick Greenwood, not only a newspaper founder and editor, but himself a master of a literary style idiomatic, simple, forcible, and perspicuous, which attested the survival to the present day of Jonathan Swift's influence as a master of the pen and a model for those wielding it on political themes.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

## PHILOSOPHY AND THE MOVEMENT FOR SOCIAL REFORM

*The Meaning and Value of Life.* By RUDOLF EUCKEN.  
(London : A. & C. Black. 1909.)

*The Ideal of Humanity.* By K. C. F. KRAUSE. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1900.)

*Thus Spake Zarathustra.* By F. NIETZSCHE. (Edinburgh : T. Common. 1908.)

*Beyond Good and Evil.* By F. NIETZSCHE. (London : Foulis. 1907.)

*The Positive Science of Morals.* By PIERRE LAFFITTE.  
(London : Watts & Co. 1908.)

**P**HILOSOPHY, in the strict sense, has usually little to do with popular movements. But it is not possible even for it to remain unaffected by contemporary social movements, especially when it may have partially generated them. Nor can it refrain from influencing them. Plato's *Dialogues* and *Republic* were not only occasioned by contemporary social conditions, but they have largely affected social development ever since. Aristotle's writings influenced not only the thought of his own age, but largely determined the social policy of the Middle Ages, through Thomas Aquinas and the Schoolmen. John Wyclif's law of 'eminent domain,' his denial of the absolute right of property to Pope, Church, King, or feudal lord, had its social outcome in the Lollard movement. Augustine's *City of God* and Dante's *De Monarchia* and *Divina Commedia* reflected and influenced their respective eras. And so also did the political philosophy of Machiavelli's *Prince*, Sir T. More's *Utopia*, Bishop Hall's *Mundus Alter et Idem*, Lord Bacon's *New Atlantis*, Campanella's *City of the Sun*, Harrington's *Oceana*, and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.

The beginning of much modern social theory may be traced back to the political philosophers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Hobbes's *Leviathan*, Filmer's *Patriarcha*, and Locke's *Civil Government* have all their modern descendants. Hobbes is the father of modern Absolutism. Nietzsche was familiar with Hobbes. John Locke was the father of modern Constitutionalism and of European social philosophy in the eighteenth century. Mr. Victor Brandford correctly states that 'the second half of the eighteenth century was the time when a synthetic science of society was first adequately conceived.' That was the epoch-making time of Diderot and the Encyclopaedists, of Rousseau and his *Sociale Contrat*, Burke and his theory of Natural Rights, Thomas Paine and his *Rights of Man*, and Condorcet and his *Historical Sketch of the Progress of the Human Spirit*. Condorcet it was who founded the new science of Sociology.

The modern social, as distinguished from the modern political movement, both now blending into one, began simultaneously with the French Revolution and the rise of the New Industry and the Factory System in England. Philosophers soon came, directly or indirectly, into relation with the movement. Kant early delivered himself of three famous axioms, in the *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788). Men must 'act, making humanity an end, not a means,' they must 'act upon the principle of the universal validity of actions,' and they must 'act in harmony with the universal Rational Will.' These axioms have ever since played their part in the writings and advocacy of social reformers. Edward Caird, Maurice Adams, W. M. Salter and others make effective use of them.

Fichte, too, in his *Theory of Rights* (1796), laid it down that 'a finite rational being cannot realize himself without ascribing to himself freedom of action.' But, inasmuch as other rational beings must do the same, the first law of social action must be—'Limit your freedom by the idea of that of all other rational beings with whom you come into contact.' This involves regulations of State and the

sanction of law. Fichte affirmed that 'every political constitution is legitimate, provided only that it renders possible progress to a better.' The *Theory of Rights* was followed by the *Theory of Duties* (1798), for 'morality only arises from the internal necessity or desire to conform to the external necessity of natural and legal rights.' Or, in other words, morality only appears when legal obligations are accepted as moral duties, and virtue is embraced as a social necessity. Fichte has been regarded, not without grounds, as the father of German Socialism—numerous as they are for whom this paternity is claimed. In his later writings Fichte states propositions which now sound most familiar. Some of them, indeed, savour more of the market-place than of the philosopher's porch. 'Property can have no other origin than labour'—a saying which omits to notice that the *possession* of property can have several other origins. Perhaps, however, Fichte meant to cover these in a subsequent sentence in his *Justification of the French Revolution*—'Whoever does not work has no right to obtain the means of subsistence from society.' In the *Theory of Rights* he says that 'every one should have some property; society owes to all the means of work, and all should work in order to live.' In his *State in Accordance with Right* he declares that 'labour and distribution should be collectively organized; every one should receive for a fixed amount of labour a fixed amount of capital, which should constitute his property, according to right. Property will thus be made universal. No person should enjoy superfluities so long as any one lacks necessities; for the right of property in objects of luxury can have no foundation until each citizen has his share in the necessities of life. . . . Farm labourers should form partnerships so as to produce the most with the least possible exertion.' This is singularly concrete writing to come from the author of Subjective Idealism, the most abstract system of philosophy of the eighteenth century. Fichte's idea has been reproduced in many forms, from Ricardian Rodbertus to Carlyle and Ruskin, and from the

early agricultural co-operationists to Sir Horace Plunkett, all of them—save Carlyle—unaware of the original source.

Another great philosopher who touches the movement for social reform is Hegel (1770-1831), that modern Heraclitus, the apostle of the philosophy of development, of Becoming in opposition to Being, the founder of Absolute Idealism, whose 'secret' is progression by contradiction—Thesis—Antithesis—Synthesis. Fichte, influenced by Kant, developed the conception of the State as composed of individuals, but he treated it socialistically. Hegel, starting with a Socialistic State, developed the idea individualistically. With Hegel, the ideal State was 'the actuality of the Ethical Idea, the Ethical Spirit, as it controls the action and knowledge of the individuals who are contained in it.'

Hegel's followers have developed, in every department of life and thought, contradictory schools—Right and Left Wings, Idealism and Empiricism, Spiritualism and Materialism, according as one aspect or the other of his vast philosophical system has been emphasized. Hegel is the immediate intellectual cause of German State Socialism and German Scientific Socialism. Prince Bismarck started State Socialism through the influence of Lassalle, a Left-Wing Hegelian. Karl Marx, another Left-Wing Hegelian, gave Scientific Socialism its classical expression. Social philosophers, like Locke, Fichte, Ricardo and William Thompson, gave to German Socialism its substance, but Hegel provided its form. It is singular that the two founders of German Socialism were both Jews and both Hegelians. So ardent an Hegelian was Lassalle that, after reading philosophy at Breslau and Berlin, he began, in 1845, a treatise on *Heraclitus*—finished only in 1858. In 1861 he also published his remarkable *System of Acquired Rights*, a reconciliation of Positive Right and the Philosophy of Right, in which he maintains that 'the sole source of right is the common consciousness and conviction of the nation.' He also treats, in a radical manner,

the legal rights of compensation and succession, and denies the 'right' to property gained by direct exploitation of others. Savigny, the great jurisconsult, whom Lassalle criticized, says that 'the *System of Acquired Rights* was the ablest legal book since the sixteenth century.' It is an application of the Hegelian method—the dialectical method of development—to legal ideas and institutions.

Karl Marx, again, was a Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Bonn, and gained his degree by a learned essay on the philosophy of Epicurus. Hegel, however, became his master in 1841. Springing from a Jewish legal family, Marx, like Lassalle, turned to law, and collaborated with Arnold Ruge in Paris in 1744 in producing an edition of Hegel's *Philosophy of Jurisprudence*. But it is in *Capital* that we see pre-eminently the Hegelianism of Marx. The famous dialectical method is there pedantically followed—inaccurate analyses, antitheses and syntheses are perpetrated, positions taken and prophecies made which have been belied by subsequent developments. At the best the Hegelian jargon bewilders the reader, and at the worst it deceives him. Marx's famous 'materialistic conception of history,' that the progress of thought and civilization are determined solely by economic conditions, came from the Hegelian Left. It is, of course, disavowed to-day by leading Marxians themselves, like Bernstein, Vandervelde and Jaurés, the Revisionists. It is also really contrary to Hegel himself, for if he held that the idea creates or is the real, he could hardly teach that the material creates the idea. Marx's dialectical process is the characteristic Hegelian one. First, as *thesis*—private property, resting on a man's own labour, as in the pre-capitalistic era. Then, as *antithesis*—private property, resting on other men's labour, as in the capitalistic era, the negation of producer's property. Finally, as *synthesis*—communal property, the expropriation of the capitalist régime by the proletariat, the negation of this negation, and an advance upon the two previous stages. It must, however, in justice be recognized that to Marx belongs the credit of intro-



ducing Hegel's evolutionary method—the historical method—into Political Economy, and thus beginning a new era.

Another great social-reforming Hegelian is Thomas Hill Green, of Oxford (1831–82), the founder of English Neo-Hegelianism. Green's Oxford Lectures on *The Principles of Political Obligation*, and those on *Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract*, and his *Four Lectures on the English Commonwealth*, are as Hegelian as they are progressive. 'We who were reformers from the beginning,' he says, 'always said that the enfranchisement of the people was an end in itself. We said, and we were much derided for saying so, that citizenship only makes the moral man; that citizenship only gives that self-respect which is the true basis of respect for others, and without which there is no lasting social order or real morality.' But this is Hegel's 'State as the Ethical Idea.' Hegelian also is Green's conception of true reform, expressed by Dr. Muirhead in his lectures on Green in *The Service of the State* (1908). 'To Green, reform did not mean the triumph of one class or political party over another—but the development of the idea of what the social union could be made to mean for all.' Green's theory of rights, too, is Hegelian in its conception and exposition. 'A right has two sides, a positive and a negative. From the positive side, a right is the condition or sphere of self-realization; from the negative, it is that on which others are prohibited from encroaching. . . . It is not only right, but it is "a right" of each to respect the right of another. . . . What endows the individual in the first instance with his rights is his power of doing right; in other words, of contributing from his own particular centre to social well-being.'

The late Master of Balliol was another Neo-Hegelian interested in social reform. Edward Caird took part in the early stages of the modern English social movement. In a little-known address delivered in 1888 on *The Moral Aspect of the Economic Problem* to the Ethical Society, he said that 'many who have no special call to speculation

or conscious fitness for it, who are not, as Hegel once said, "condemned by a Divine judgement to be philosophers," have been obliged to seek for some theoretical adjustment of their relations to the world.' Continuing, he said that the modern problem is 'how to raise the estate of man, and to raise it organically; that is, not as in ancient Greece, to elevate a few at the expense of the rest, but to raise men as a social body, in which none can be left behind without injury to all the others.' He states that St. Simonism 'started from an idea which has been in the air since Fichte's time, and which has been popularized in this country by Carlyle. According to this idea, the history of man shows an alternation of periods of organization and periods of disintegration. The period of disintegration has always been a period of individualism, in which society has been resolved into its atoms, and the struggle for existence between them has been fierce and fatal; while the period of organization has bound men to their fellows in such solidarity that co-operation has taken the place of competition, and combined effort for the social good has been substituted for the selfish struggle in which every one strives to draw the whole gain to himself.' 'Freedom and Association,' writes this Neo-Hegelian philosopher, in the first flush of revived social enthusiasm in this country, 'are not opposed, but interdependent ideas, in such a sense that, separated from each other, they lose all their meaning. . . . Hence, looking at the way in which periods of growing individualism have alternated with periods of reorganization, in which the bonds of the social order have been drawn closer, we cannot speak as if in the former period nothing was gained, except the destruction of an old system to make room for a new.' In a word, by the familiar Hegelian dialectical process progress by contradiction is the key to social as to all other movements. Caird reveals in another paragraph of this lecture the contact of philosophy with the movement for social reform. 'There was a time before the French Revolution when all the rising forces of intellect—Locke, Leibnitz, Hume,

Wolff, Rousseau and Diderot—were enlisted in the war for the liberation of the individual. And there came a time after the Revolution when all the leading minds—Schelling and Hegel, St. Simon and Comte, Coleridge and Carlyle—laid at least their main emphasis upon the assertion of order and social unity.' After maintaining that it is impossible to isolate the economical from the ethical problem, Caird closes with the characteristic Hegelian synthesis, that 'the practical value of the social science of the future will depend, not only in the way in which we break up the complete problems of our existence into manageable parts, but as much, and even more, upon the way in which we are able to gather the elements together again, and to see how they act and react upon each other in the living movement of the social body.' In this Hegelian spirit Dr. Edward Caird contributed his quota to a reasoned social philosophy.

A younger contemporary of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, not yet come to his own, was Karl Krause (1781-1832). Krause was amongst the greatest of the Kantian succession. His doctrine of 'Panentheism' found a disciple in Froebel. Henri Amiel wrote in his *Journal Intime* in 1852, that Krause's *Ideal of Humanity* answered marvellously to his thought and need. The late Dr. Hastie described Krause as 'the gentlest and humanest thinker of the nineteenth century . . . one of the greatest thinkers of the modern world,' and Dr. Flint thinks that he has been too little heard of in this country.

The first part of his *Ideal of Humanity* was translated into English in 1900, but the second part, giving his 'full analysis of the ideal-real organism of society,' still awaits translation. Krause's ideas upon the future of Humanity—its federation and collective moral progress—are silently leavening the thought of thinkers on social reform. His philosophy, through Wilhelm Reuter of Aurich, has influenced Dr. Eucken of Jena. Krause holds to the solidarity of Humanity and to the spiritual significance of history. His *panentheism* means the subsistence of all

things in God, in the Christian and not in the Spinozistic sense. 'Humanity,' he declares, 'is and ought to be one great man on earth, as if it were one sound and beautiful spirit in one sound and beautiful body.' 'Society,' he affirms, 'accomplishes things which the individual could not accomplish at all, even partially, and to which he can only contribute his part when socially united in others.' 'Love,' he exclaims grandly, 'is the mother of all sociality.' 'Serfdom and the supremacy of irresponsible will are disappearing, and a Confederation of States is taking form, which will soon embrace Europe and its Colonies in one political organization, and which will thereby indirectly give a new impetus to its civilization.' This last sentence saw the light in 1812, but who can deny its prophetic insight, despite the mutual suspicion and the weight of armaments under which the nations and empires of modern civilization are groaning a century later? 'Men,' says Krause, 'have outstripped women in civilized progress, but women have now entered upon their rights, and begin to lead their own independent life.' 'In the fullness of time, all the nations will yet constitute a single brotherhood, and become one true manhood upon earth, harmonious in itself and conscious of a reciprocal life with God.' Krause's is obviously a fit philosophy for the social future.

Baader (1765-1841), the friend of Krause and Alexander von Humboldt, Professor of Philosophy at Munich in 1826, must be noted. Röthe, Julius Müller, and Bishop Martensen all owed much to Baader. He outlined a Theocracy as his ideal society, a State held together by Christian love, which should be equally free from Individualism and Despotism. He held that without previous and perfect union between God and man, social union can never be effected nor maintained. The Christian law of mutual affection is the only safeguard against the disintegrating power of Individualism. He held, too, that the Church must provide a new diaconate to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth, and that the Church is altogether opposed to the heathenish view of

absolute ownership of property. Such a view is purely selfish, and therefore anti-social, separating private from common interests. The Church, according to Baader, and One higher than Baader, regards all men as agents and stewards of their possessions for the common good.

Rudolf Eucken, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Jena, is the latest German philosopher to come into touch with the social movement. Like Nietzsche, Eucken emphasizes the value of Personality, but in a quite different spirit. Nietzsche crudely isolates it, in the cult of Egoism and the Over-Man. Eucken socializes it, after spiritual renewal, in co-operation with the Spiritual Life immanent in the Universe and in social service. He holds that 'a social culture in which spiritual ideals dominate and prevail is still in the making, and that it is for us to realize it.' His philosophy is a Freedom philosophy, and he rejects both Naturalism and Intellectualism. It seems to be a philosophy, based upon a radical criticism—yet recognition of the value—of all previous philosophies, which is, at present, most in harmony with Christianity and its social applications. Pragmatism, with its wholesale relativity, can hardly be called a philosophy. Eucken's method is again the threefold Hegelian one. First, the stage of Nature, the life under authority, sense, expediency, public opinion; then the negative stage, the break from this conventional régime; and finally, the third and reconstructive stage, the stage of spiritual liberty, in which, as Persons, through renunciation and rebirth, we assist in the spiritual transfiguration of society. Eucken's philosophy calls, as Mr. Boyce Gibson says, for a renunciation of any and every mode of social and personal life which hinders us from assisting in the betterment of what is spiritually genuine in the construction of society, and it implies that we have given up the idea of abetting, by our own passive acquiescence, a form of life which we inwardly feel to be vain and hollow. In his *Meaning and Value of Life*, Eucken deals with 'the tyranny of work,' in which man is valued merely as a means—is only a tool. He shows

that the increasing sub-division and specialization of labour means that an ever smaller fraction of man's total energy is called into play, while the rest is allowed to remain idle. The soul requires time for quiet, persistent growth, whereas work turns life into a breathless rush and hurry. Materialistic Socialism, he holds, enslaves men to passing circumstance, the life of sense and sensation, and represses individuality, destroying freedom and variety. Socialistic culture directs itself chiefly to the outward conditions of life, but in the care for these it neglects the life itself. Individualistic culture would fain deal with life itself, but since it can never refer us back to anything beyond isolated states and moments, we cannot see life whole. There is no hope for us apart from 'a spiritual atmosphere as a setting of our human life and effort.' The crucial point, Eucken says, is when man can inwardly transcend the world, and, in so doing, fundamentally alter his relationship to reality. 'This is the great crux which our present civilization has to face.' To Eucken there is no way out save by 'a recognition of a self-subsistent depth of Spirituality within our own life.' Only this will give us 'a firm basis, initiative, release from sordid motives, and make life firm, free, heroic.' No civilization, he says, can preach a really new gospel and win allegiance unless, in the face of the given Order of things, it can insist on the necessity of a new Order already present to faith and hope. The recognition of an authoritative Over-Life raises the spiritual level of the social order; it enables us to feel our connexion with a cosmic life, to make it our own, and thus leave far behind the lowliness of our beginnings. In the growth of a distinctively scientific temper and the spread of historical and sociological methods, Eucken says we are 'witnessing nothing less than the evolution of the Spiritual Life fulfilling itself through the ages.'

Over against Eucken's Over-Life, in the beginning of the twentieth century, we have Nietzsche's Over-Man. The influence of the latter ideal in Germany preceded that of Eucken, and is probably still a potent force there. Nietz-



schianism is rapidly becoming a vogue amongst us—it is the new philosophy of the natural man—yet it is really an old one—that of Thrasymachus in the *Republic*—Justice is the right of the stronger! Socrates engaged Thrasymachus in deadly dialectics over this proposition, to the latter's discomfiture. But Nietzsche's brilliant iridescent genius, his felicity of style, lambent wit and scorn of contemporary religion and ethics, has revived the old Sophist philosophy. In *Thus Spake Zarathustra* and *Beyond Good and Evil*, products of his third period, occur these sample sentences: 'Love unto the most remote future man is higher than love unto your neighbour. I consider love unto things and ghosts to be higher than love unto men.' 'I am Zarathustra the ungodly! Where find I my like? All these are my like who give themselves a will of their own and renounce all submission. Oh! that ye would understand my word! Be sure to do whatever ye like, but first of all be such as can will! Be sure to love your neighbour as yourselves, but be first of all such as love yourselves.' These are mild sayings of the man who rejected 'all gods and religions,' and repudiated 'the will to live' in favour of 'the will to power.' Upon this philosophy not a few edifices are being reared in national, industrial, and social life, and time will prove whether or not they are fit to survive in the life of a nobler humanity.

Auguste Comte (1798–1857), to turn from Germany, is an earlier and a greater name than those of either Nietzsche or Eucken. He may be said to be the actual founder of the modern science of Sociology. The French school of Social Realists, the school of Le Play, which amasses and classifies geographical social facts, descends from him. That school, in turn, has led to the formation of the English school of Charles Booth, the Sidney Webbs, Rowntree and Sherwell. Through Comte, too, has largely come Herbert Spencer. Positivism, with all its deficiencies, gave the modern world the first scientific study of human society. It initiated the study of those physical and biological laws which partly govern social organisms. How-

ever inadequate the principles of Positivism are to elucidate the whole truth concerning society, Comte's writings are full of social wisdom, of great aphorisms, pregnant hints, illuminating criticisms and striking generalizations. 'Humanity,' says Comte, 'has given rights to man only in the shape of obligations.' No one has any right beyond that of always doing his duty. Instead of a discussion of rights, Positivism substitutes the elaboration of duties. It is the first movement away from the eighteenth-century social philosophy of inherent rights, which yet does not play into the hands of arbitrary power. Pierre Laffitte affirms that Comte perceived that 'material interests have never yet succeeded in constituting a social order, because for that purpose a body of truths held in common is required,' and this Comte sought to supply by the laws of Sociology, and the sanctions and inspirations of his fantastic 'worship of Humanity.' Mr. James Oliphant has well summarized the value of Comte's work. 'By his discovery of the methods proper to a rational study of social phenomena, and by his dicta, that, owing to the complexity of the conditions involved the laws of such phenomena cannot be determined *a priori*, but must be inductively observed, and afterwards verified and co-ordinated by the deductive application of general laws of life; that the statistical conditions of each historical period must be viewed in its totality, as determined by the interaction of various social factors; that intellectual evolution affords a true measure of social progress,—by his enunciation of these and other doctrines, Sociology was created and established.' There is no doubt that this is a just estimate of the value of Comte's work.

Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) began his *Synthetic Philosophy* with sociology and ethics. His *Social Statics* (1850), despite the author's repudiation of some of its main positions, is still valued by social students of opposite schools. To Spencer's popular *Study of Sociology* (1872) and to his *Principles of Sociology*, and *Man versus the State* (1884), many students of early and late society owe their first introduction to their subjects. The 'adminis-

trative Nihilism,' as Huxley called it, of Spencer's later days introduced a contradiction into his philosophy, the sole purpose of which was to set forth the conception of the Universe, and human society in particular, as a developing organism. The extremes of both Socialism and Individualism appear unreconciled in the work of Spencer.

The latest fusion of philosophy and the movement for social reform is in the person, writing, and speeches of the greatest living French orator, the leader of the Reformiste or Evolutionary Socialist party in the French Chamber. M. Jaurés is by profession a philosopher. He has held Chairs of Philosophy at French Universities—in 1881 at Albi, and in 1885 and again in 1889 at Toulouse.

This review must close without reference to many other philosophers, past and present, who have dealt with social reform. Without reference, for instance, to Leibnitz, who gave us the conception of social evolution in his well-known phrase, combining his two great ideas, 'the present is charged with the past and big with the future.' Many other names occur: Flint, Benjamin Kidd, F. C. S. Schiller, Maeterlinck, Höffding, Durkheim, Barth, Bruhl, Fouillée, Muirhead, Stein, Pringle-Pattison, Henry Jones and Tönnies—all distinguished in philosophy and all alike keenly interested in sociology and social reform. In fact, it may safely be affirmed that no modern philosopher would dream of ignoring the social movement in his efforts for the unification of thought and being, and in his concern with the meaning of life.

SAMUEL E. KEEBLE.

## THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMANS

ONE of the tasks which press most heavily upon the American people to-day is that of assimilating alien races. The controversy over the restriction of immigration, a controversy by no means confined to the United States—there exists a similar problem in London and other large English cities—this controversy in America virtually turns upon the question whether the new-comers are likely to become good Americans, or at least the fathers and mothers of good Americans. Uncle Sam has been unkindly compared to the ostrich, which swallows pebbles, nails, and broken glass, but does not digest them. Whether this comparison be just or not, one may, on the other hand, point to the indisputable fact that every American is either an immigrant or at least the descendant of an immigrant.

English people are perhaps too prone to think of the American as being merely a transplanted Englishman. So far as his origins are concerned he differs little, they believe, from the Canadian or the Australian. He has merely broken loose from Mother Britain's leading-strings, and set up an independent household. This was true a long time ago, but it is no longer so. To be sure, his language is English, his legal and political traditions are English. Yet two-thirds of the Americans one sees gallivanting about Europe during the summer months are of non-English descent. Of the ninety millions of people in the United States to-day, about fifty millions do not spring from an English ancestry. We frequently hear such generalizations as that New York contains more Germans than Breslau, more Irish than Dublin, and more Italians than Milan; and this is probably true. Chicago has been called, by an eminent American scholar, a great, roaring, polyglot Vanity Fair, in which all nations may

hear their own tongue, and be injured by their own cookery.

Much might be said of the way in which we meet this problem of assimilation, of the short time it takes to make decent Americans of the unpromising materials that are sent us, how the second generation speaks English and comes into possession of American ideals and traditions. But I am going to confine myself to a smaller and perhaps more picturesque subject, and speak about a people in the States of non-English origin, who never figured in the present immigration question because they came to America a very long time ago, when the States were still colonies, and yet a people who are concerned in this effort toward assimilation because more than any other element in our population they have clung to the language, religion, and ideas of the land of their origin.

The question of the foreigner and his attitude toward the English population is as old as the United States. French Huguenots tried to settle in the Carolinas a century before the English were permanently established there, and the Swedes on the Delaware, and the Dutch where New York now stands, blazed the way for the English colonists who followed. By far the largest infusion of colonists from the Continent, however, into the American colonies was the settlement of Germans in the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania. For it was not only a numerous settlement; it was also prolific in stout children and religious sectaries, so that in colonial times, and what is more interesting, even to-day, it is in civilization and the character of the population different from other parts of the American nation.

These people are commonly called the Pennsylvania-Dutch, a term sometimes taken rather ill by educated people, who prefer to be more correctly known as Pennsylvania-Germans. The ordinary 'Bauer,' or farmer, however, although he perfectly knows the difference between a Holland Dutchman and a German, generally speaks of himself and his people as 'Dutch.' The original

home of these Germans in America lies within a radius of seventy-five or one hundred miles about Philadelphia. There in a group of six or more counties they comprise almost the entire population. But they are by no means confined to this region. Very early they passed down the beautiful Cumberland valley into Maryland, Virginia, and even into the Carolinas. Most of the present State of Pennsylvania has a population of at least part-German origin, and colonies of these people are to be found in the great states of the Mississippi valley, in Ohio, Iowa, and Illinois. It is in south-eastern Pennsylvania, however, where we find the Pennsylvania-German in his most congenial surroundings. There he completely dominates the landscape, and there we see him at his best.

The Pennsylvania-German, as I have said, is distinct from every other element of the population of the United States, for although he has lived in America for more than 150 years, he still retains the language, ideas, and religious customs which he brought with him from the Fatherland. The folk-tales and superstitions which formed part of the life of the German peasant in the Rhine valley in the seventeenth century, and which perhaps still survive there, may be found in Pennsylvania to-day. Charms and magic spells are believed in and used, and witchcraft is by no means unknown.

Most of these Germans crossed over to America between 1683 and 1750 or 1760, and they may be conveniently divided into two great groups, the Pietists and the 'Church People.' The division is made on religious lines because it was for the sake of their religion, above everything else, that they went to America. The Pietists represented the reaction against dogma and ecclesiastical formalism which swept over Germany in the second half of the seventeenth century. They were generally mystics, and devoted to the pursuit of moral perfection. Splitting up into countless small sects, they were persecuted by Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. The largest and most prominent of these sects was that of the Mennonites. The Mennon-



ites resembled the English Quakers or Friends in almost every respect, and indeed have often been called German Quakers. They wore the peculiar, quiet, drab-coloured garments of the Quaker; they were opposed to war, to the taking of oaths, to paid ministers and to premeditated sermons. They did not, however, abolish the sacraments, and they added another—feet-washing. William Penn, several years before he founded his Quaker colony of Pennsylvania, visited the Mennonite congregations in Germany and Holland, and upon settling Philadelphia invited his German brethren to the new colony as an asylum from persecution. The first lot went over in 1683—six families, mostly weavers and farmers—and founded the village of Germantown a few miles north of Philadelphia, now one of the loveliest sections of the city. The Tunkers, another important Pietist sect, soon followed the Mennonites across the seas. They had seceded from the German Calvinistic Church, and were much like the Mennonites in their peculiar customs and dress. Between 1719 and 1721 the whole sect removed to Pennsylvania from Holland, whither they had been driven from Germany ten years earlier. The last of the Pietists to come to America were the Schwenkfelders, as they call themselves, a sect which appeared about 1525 in Silesia, and after being hunted like criminals from place to place for 200 years, fled to Pennsylvania in 1733-4. September 22, the day on which the first shipload of seventy families touched American soil, is still celebrated by them as Memorial Day—'Gedächtniss Tag.'

The 'Church People,' the second group of these early German emigrants to Pennsylvania, were of a very different sort. They belonged to the German Lutheran and Reformed Churches, were more like the broad Anglican here, and in worldly position much poorer and more uncouth than the Pietists. Theirs is a tale of suffering and fortitude unequalled in American annals. They came from the Rhine valley, especially the Palatinate and Swabia, and also from German Switzerland; and they fled

from a terrible burden of religious and political persecution. Living on the debatable ground between Protestant Germany on the north and west, and Catholic Germany on the south and east, it often happened that their princes were alternately Catholic and Protestant. When a Protestant prince ruled, the Catholics were persecuted, and when a Catholic prince ruled, the Protestants suffered. Their homes, moreover, lying on the borders between France and Germany, were repeatedly desolated by the terrible armies of Louis XIV. The cold-blooded order of the French Minister, Louvois, to General Melac to make the Palatinate uninhabitable, is famous in history—or infamous. And as if this were not enough, there was a third source of oppression. The petty German princelings of that period tried to emulate the grand style of the French court, built palaces and laid out gardens in imitation of Versailles; and the burden of this extravagance fell upon the suffering peasantry.

At this juncture, the circulation in western Germany of what was called the *Golden Book* by agents of Queen Anne caused a tremendous exodus from the oppressed provinces. Anne was anxious to draw more colonists to her American plantations, and circulated a book which described in glowing colours to the ignorant German farmer the Eldorado which awaited him in America. All the fruits of Paradise were to be found, there; manna dropped from the trees and gold was picked up in the highways; all goodly beasts of the field and fowl of the air abounded; man need not work and persecuting princes were unknown. The effect was startling. The poor, down-trodden peasants sold all that they had and flocked, literally in thousands, down the Rhine and across to England. They were sheltered in tents on the commons and fields about London, and caused riots and alarm among the English lower classes. On Blackheath several thousands of these 'Palatines,' as they were called, for most of them came from the Palatinate, were encamped waiting to be transported to America. A number who were

Catholics were sent back to Germany. Queen Anne wanted no Papists in her colonies. Three thousand were shipped to Ireland, and their descendants live in Limerick to-day. Nearly everybody who had a colony or a land-scheme to exploit took a few. John Law, author of the Mississippi Bubble in France, got several thousand for Louisiana, and allowed them to perish like sheep in the miserable swamps of Mobile. The greater number, however, went to the American colonies, most of them to Pennsylvania. Ship-captains soon realized the advantages of transporting these Germans directly from the Continent, and a regular trade in Palatines, not unlike the slave-trade, sprang up. Vessels were chartered to proceed to a Dutch port and load Palatines, just as if sent for cattle or some other like commodity. Agents, called 'soul-sellers,' were dispatched through the country, dressed in gold lace and driving in a coach-and-six, who represented themselves as having acquired their wealth in America, and inveigled the peasants to emigrate. For this trade in Palatines was a very profitable one. When the poor Germans reached the coast they were generally at the mercy of the ship-captains. The five or six weeks' delay in going down the Rhine, often through thirty or forty custom-houses, and the further delay when the seaport was reached, were sufficient to exhaust their scanty stock of money and provisions. In despair they sold themselves as indentured servants to the captains, in return for passage to the promised land. They were crowded upon small ships, four, five or six hundred together, with little or no accommodation, and regardless of sex or age. Food and water were scanty and vile, and the vessels were often overrun with rats. The emigrants were plundered of whatever goods and clothes still remained to them. They sickened and died, sometimes as many as 200 in one voyage. It is recorded that in a certain year 2,000 German emigrants perished during the passage to America. The Quakers in Pennsylvania, if they had invited the Pietists, did not want these people. The

infected ships were kept down-stream away from the settlement, and hospitals were prepared for the newcomers. The survivors of the terrible ordeal were sold by the captains at seven years' service. Here was where they made their profit.

The Palatines when they first arrived were a discouraging lot—poor, dirty, ignorant, superstitious German peasants, a wild-looking, starving crowd speaking an unintelligible dialect. But their powers of recuperation were marvellous. They were good farmers, they were good judges of land; they took better care of their cattle than did their neighbours, and they built better barns and fences. They grew rich on farms bought from the less provident English and Scotch-Irish who had come before them, and they soon turned these settlers entirely out of that region. Economy was a fine art with them, their one fine art perhaps, except music. They hated debt, had few slaves, and the women worked—as peasant women work in Germany to-day.

The Pietists were of a superior type. They had more property, intelligence, and education than the mass of peasants belonging to the established Protestant Churches. In their enthusiasm for the ideal of moral perfection these mystics sometimes developed a type of monasticism. There were two of these Pietist monasteries in Pennsylvania. The more famous was founded by Conrad Beissel, an enthusiast who came to Pennsylvania in 1720. He led a schism from the Tunker sect, taught a celibate and monastic life, lived as a hermit on a small farm in Lancaster County, and gathered about him a community of 300 mystics, both men and women. A monastery was built, called the Ephrata, with one house for the brothers, another for the sisters. Industries were set up, flour, paper, and fulling mills, a flax and an oil press, a printing establishment and a book-bindery. Forty books were published there, some of the most precious of American *incunabula*. The sisters copied hundreds of volumes of music and illuminated texts. They founded a school

which attracted pupils from Philadelphia and Baltimore. The monks and nuns lived altogether on vegetables, and slept on wooden benches with blocks of wood for pillows. They worshipped four times in every twenty-four hours. Their complexions, we are told, were pale and bloodless. Their dress consisted of a shirt, trousers, waistcoat and a long white gown and cowl, made of wool in winter, linen in summer. The women wore the same with the addition of petticoats. In public they walked with a solemn, steady pace, eyes fixed upon the ground, and faces hooded by the white cowl. Human affections, finding no outlet in their natural channel, were expressed in fervid songs of union with the Redeemer. He became the mystical object of a more than spiritual love.

The way in which Beissel came to set up a printing press in his monastery makes an amusing story. The monks and nuns at Ephrata, it is said, were greatly given to hymn-writing. Beissel came to Christopher Sauer in Germantown, then the most considerable printer in Pennsylvania, to have a number of these hymns printed. The collection was called 'Weyrauchs Hügel,' and was the first German book printed in America. But one day a printer's devil happened to suggest to Sauer that the 'Redeemer' to whom these hymns were written appeared to him to be no other than Beissel himself. This was a rather serious charge, and Sauer wrote to Beissel asking him if it was true. Beissel upon receiving the letter flew into a furious passion, and replied to Sauer in no very complimentary terms; which drew from choleric old Sauer the rejoinder that Beissel got 'from Mars his strength, from Venus his influence over women, and from Mercury his comedian tricks.' Beissel thereupon withdrew his patronage and set up a press of his own.

The Ephrata community did not decay until after the American Revolution, and the school continued till far into the nineteenth century. The desire for a hermit life, however, was common among these German Pietists, and many retired to huts or caves in the woods. A group

settled in the dark, romantic dale of the Wissahickon near Philadelphia, and about it many traditions mixed with Indian lore have collected. The hermits were most of them students driven by persecution from the German universities, and called themselves by the very musical name, 'The Society of the Woman of the Wilderness.' The Wissahickon is a narrow ravine about five miles in length with steep sides covered with virgin forest, and only enough room at the bottom for a stream and an Indian path later broadened into a roadway. Here these young German students lived, practising astrology it is said, and teaching the poor of the neighbouring village of Germantown. They later decided to live under one roof, and built for themselves a monastery. The building still survives, and is at present inhabited by a Golf Club.

So far I have said nothing about the Moravians. They, too, had many of the characteristics of the Pietists, but later repudiated all emotionalism, and are to-day much like the broad Episcopalians in the States. Indeed the Episcopalian Church recognizes the Moravian bishops as apostolic. The Moravians originated in Moravia and Bohemia under the influence of the preaching of John Hus, were scattered by persecution in 1621, revived a century later by Count Zinzendorf, who gathered about 300 on his estate in Saxony, became engrafted on the German Pietistic movement, and began to emigrate to America about 1730. The Penn family gave them a manor held by feudal tenure, called the Barony of the Red Rose, with the privileges of Court Baron. There they built two towns, Bethlehem and Nazareth, and established a sort of Church communism. The Church owned all the land, buildings, and industries, and cared for each individual member. The individual was only permitted to retain personal property. A great, long, high-gabled house was built, and still stands, where all the unmarried men lived. Another was built for the spinsters, and a third for the widows. Marriage was arranged by lot, and married couples might live in separate cottages. All the inns were



run by the Church, and the industries included a pottery, a tannery, button, grist and saw mills, rope-making and linen-weaving. Some of the communistic features were dropped before the beginning of the nineteenth century, but the Church retained control of the land, a few of the trades, and of the Sun Inn. Until 1844 no land could be bought except by Moravians. The Sun Inn in Bethlehem was famous throughout the States. It lay on the great stage route between the South and New England, and is said to have entertained every President of the United States down to Lincoln. It was divided into suites of rooms—a sitting-room, two bed-chambers and a servant to each suite—and was noted for its wines, game, and vegetables. The Moravians were also lovers of music, and their song festivals at Christmas Eve, on Easter morning, and at other times still attract visitors from great distances.

These, then, are the 'Pennsylvania-Dutch.' They came to American shores poor, starved, and literally naked. To-day they are the most skilful and prosperous farmers in America. Lancaster County in Pennsylvania, which they have settled and cultivated, has been called the Garden Spot of America. Their acres are broad and their barns large and filled to overflowing. But they still speak German—not the best German, to be sure—a dialect with a large intermixture of English words, but still fundamentally German. Most of them, of course, can speak and read English, for they must attend English schools; but in the home Pennsylvania-German is the language of ordinary conversation. Even in their large towns of forty or fifty thousand as much German as English is heard upon the streets.

The Pietist sects still flourish, with their curious customs, their love-feasts, and their feet-washing. The older generation, and many of the younger, cling to their quaint traditional costume. The women of the Amish sect wear blue or red tight-fitting dresses, with a pointed cape of grey, and commonly a sun-bonnet over a white linen cap, a cap much like those the Holland women wear.

As late as twenty-five years ago the Amish men were forbidden to wear braces or buttons on their clothes. Braces and buttons were a worldly vanity, a delusion and a snare. So they used belts and hooks-and-eyes instead. As has been said, they take no oaths and do not engage in government or in business as being too worldly. There is a story of one man who was expelled from the River Brethren, another of the sects, because he had voted at an election. Two other charges were brought against him: he kept an accordion in his house, and he had his property insured. The Amish were formerly called 'beardymen,' a term which explains itself. As they usually have no churches or meeting-houses, they assemble for worship at the various farmhouses in turn. Their farmhouses are large and roomy and can accommodate a considerable number. On Sunday at dawn, for twenty miles round the chosen place of meeting, the farmers of Amish faith set out with wife and buxom children, formerly in picturesque Conestoga wagons, now in lighter vehicles of more modern design. By nine o'clock all have reached their destination, where they find a gathering of thirty or forty of their friends and neighbours. Generally two long services are held, with sermons by lay preachers, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. Between the two, dinner is served, and what a dinner! Only such as a Pennsylvania-German housewife could prepare. An early supper at five, and they hitch up their teams and return home in the gathering dusk.

A belief in witches and witch-doctors is not infrequent among these Germans, especially among the 'Church People,' and the use of charms to ward off or cure disease is very common. Books of black magic, such as were used in Germany several centuries ago and may still be used there, are found in Pennsylvania to-day—books which can be traced back to early mediaeval times, and which we may therefore, I suppose, for the purposes of witchcraft regard as genuine. These are especially the last four books of Moses; for Moses was also regarded as a

magician, as was Solomon after him, and if he put his knowledge of good things into the Pentateuch, he gathered what he knew of the Black Art into four other books, which are called respectively the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth books of Moses. One may sometimes see these books, but should in no case open them or even touch them; for according to the belief of the Pennsylvania-Germans (or at least of some of them), if an uninitiated person opens one of these books, that person will be fixed fast to the spot where he or she is at the moment sitting or standing—like Lot's wife, I suppose, turned into a pillar of salt. Not infrequently one hears of a woman who practises witchcraft; and of course if witches will make themselves disagreeable, there must be witch-doctors to counteract their spells. The witch-doctor in Pennsylvania in the spring of the year haunts cemeteries, where he gathers toads from under stones, the tender shoots from the trees, and fresh herbs from the ground. Out of these he makes his concoctions; and terrible incantations he employs in making them, if we are to believe the stories of the countryside. These witch-doctors will sometimes pay as much as four or five shillings for a nail drawn from a disinterred coffin; for they will tell you that if you are troubled by a witch, you have only to procure such a nail, catch your witch, nail her fast—and she will never trouble you again.

To really enjoy the Pennsylvania-German region one needs a host brimful of the lore of the country, and the leisure to give a week's holiday to driving or motoring over the undeniably bad roads, among the rich farms with their great, red barns and fruit-laden orchards, and through the picturesque, forest-clad hills. But to know and appreciate the Pennsylvania-Germans themselves, you must live among them, mingle with the farmers in their daily tasks and sit at their hospitable board; and you will find 'a people who have set to the whole nation an example of industry and thrift, of simple piety and respect for the rights of others.'

C. H. HARING.

## BEHIND THE INDIAN VEIL

THE title of this article is borrowed from a column in *The Times of India* contributed by 'an Indian correspondent,' and frequently containing much that is suggestive to the thoughtful student of Indian affairs. The present writer has chosen them to give prominence to the fact that there is an 'Indian Veil,' a veil which, when drawn aside, discloses facts unexpected from the outside, but without which what is apparently patent enough cannot be correctly, much less fully, understood. The real life and thought of the people, the real trend of religious speculation or of national movements, the real effect of missionary work—these and many more things are nowhere more surely hidden from the casual gaze of a foreign observer than in India.

So true is this felt to be by those who have spent many years in the country and have come into close contact with its peoples—a contact in the case of the missionary more near and sure, and bringing truer insight, as well as more ample information, by reason of an acquaintance with the vernacular—that those who are most entitled to give a dogmatic pronouncement upon things Indian are often the most reluctant to do so. Nevertheless, the immense importance of at least an approximate understanding of some of the things which lie behind the Indian veil prompts us to attempt to draw it partly aside and try to get a glimpse of the realities it hides. This we do now chiefly in the interests of Indian missions, for we are convinced that there is a good deal hidden from the ordinary observer concerning the real position, the real needs, and the real prospects of Indian missions.

Great has been the rejoicing in the Churches at home over the progress of Christianity in India during the last

two or three decades. Yet there is perhaps nothing more difficult to measure with accuracy. It is very easy to fly to statistics, and work out in figures a statement of the progress of Christ's kingdom which shall bring a considerable amount of assurance and satisfaction to the inspired arithmetician. It is easy to speak of mass-movements among the non-caste peoples, or to theorize upon the inevitable results of the spread of education which is ultimately Christian. But no one who has watched with care the recent past, and who still tries to keep his hand upon the pulse of the present, can be deluded into the belief that any such mere classification of symptoms is equivalent to a sound scientific diagnosis. Yet this is of the utmost importance, for upon diagnosis depend both treatment and prognosis. Upon the accuracy of our interpretation of the present state of India's moral health will depend both the treatment applied in the form of missionary effort, and the prospect, or otherwise, of its resulting in the speedy bringing about in India of that moral and spiritual wholeness which we contemplate under the name of 'the Conversion of India.'

To us, more and more, the question of India's conversion presents itself as a question of character; and character defies analysis by percentages or the ready reckoning of sweeping generalizations. It is from this point of view of character that we propose to survey in part the present state of things with regard to missionary work and life in India, and to indicate some matters for the consideration of those with whom may largely rest the framing of the missionary policy of the future.

There may be those who will say to us with regard to the conversion of India, 'There is little or nothing to consider. Your commission is clear. You have nothing to do but to preach the gospel. If men accept Christ, everything else will follow.' To some the preaching of the gospel is a perfectly simple thing; they tell us that they see no difficulty in proclaiming to men the message of salvation: but to others of us this very simplicity becomes

complexity itself under the thought that if the message is not made clear to the men before us in terms which relate to their actual moral and spiritual condition, it is not really proclaimed to them at all; and that it is easily possible ignorantly to present to them a Christ they do not want, and who makes no final appeal to them because He is not to them the Christ of God.

The most eloquent, pleading, and convincing sermon preached in English to a Telugu or Hindustani congregation would fail utterly, because the language in which it was delivered was not that of those who heard it. But there is also a language of the heart, a language of traditional ideas and of present environment, a language of life, which underlies and gives meaning to the language of the tongue.

Even in England, the man who is the most effective preacher is not the man who can present a clear statement in well-chosen English words; but the man who almost instinctively chooses such words as interpret his message in the terms of that deeper language of life—the language which observation, and sympathy, and keen spiritual discernment, have led him to acquire. He knows where the men are to whom he speaks, and can therefore make a successful effort to reach them.

We are inclined to think that the preaching of the gospel to the people of India, whether viewed as the mere delivery in words of the message of the gospel or as comprising all missionary effort, is largely ineffective when those who undertake this sacred task do not know where the people of India are.

It is not our desire to criticize but to be constructive, and to indicate some principles or lines of action which should have a larger place in missionary policy than they have to-day. Let us draw aside the Indian veil for a moment, and, from the standpoint of Christian missions, ask the question, 'Where are the people of India to-day? Are they really becoming Christian?' In the ordinary missionary review of events as given in popular reports



and speeches, emphasis is laid upon 'the achievements of Christian missions'; these are sometimes named, and regarded without hesitation, as synonymous with 'the triumphs of the gospel.' When we draw aside the Indian veil, however, we get an almost equally impressive view of the achievements of Hinduism. Hinduism has achieved something in the past, as any fair comparison of the religious and social life of non-Christian India with that of other non-Christian countries proves; but we are dealing now with its present-day achievements.

Thought and effort started into life mainly by Christian influences have brought about an awakening of Hinduism leading to religious, social, and political movements unparalleled in the history of India. Often, when we rejoice over this awakening, we congratulate ourselves as Christian Englishmen quite as much as we thank God. But we may well pause when we draw the veil a little further and come face to face with the additional fact that many of these movements are passing out of the bounds of Christian control.

The many-sidedness of this fact has often impressed the writer, but it is only possible now to mention some of the more important ways in which it is in evidence. There are religious societies which, owing their inspiration either to the influence of missionary example or to the spread of Christian ideas, not merely deny their obligations to the Christian Church, but range themselves against her—though individual members may maintain a more just or generous attitude.

In not a few instances do we find those who owe to us the first real inspiration to social reforms, such as widow-remarriage and the emancipation of the Pariah, not merely dissociated from anything definitely Christian, but in opposition to Christian endeavour which is really seeking to promote the very cause they themselves have espoused.

Christian education has called attention to the sanctity of marriage and the individual rights of womanhood; but

in doing so it has also challenged the East to compare itself with the West, and must take the consequences of every thrust which is made in the contest which ensues.

The larger education, which after all is the product of Christianity, has acquainted the East with the social sins as much as with the social ideals of the West. We were recently pained to read in a Hindu religious journal a clever and powerful article calling upon the orthodox Hindu to repudiate the leading of Christian nations, whose practice, it contended, was on a far lower moral level than that of Hinduism. It quoted the ancient custom of Sati, with its implication of the inviolability of the nuptial bond, as embodying a far higher ideal of marriage than the long list of divorce cases it had culled from English and American newspapers.

India was by no means without literature before the entrance of Christianity; yet it is safe to say that, practically speaking, Christianity has created the press and popular literature in general. But as against the feeble and tardily increasing output of Christian literature, whether in English or the vernaculars, there is an enormous and rapidly increasing output of popular vernacular literature which is unleavened by Christianity; and much that is either avowedly opposed to it, or seeks to rehabilitate orthodox Hindu beliefs in such a form as to render the attacks of Christianity against even the most repulsive of them innocuous. During the past few months we have made it our business to get first-hand knowledge of this particular set of facts by regularly reading not only representative vernacular newspapers, both political and religious, but vernacular editions of the lives of Hindu reformers such as Ram Mohun Roy, Swami Vivekananda, and others; as well as novels, dramas, and other popular literature written in the vernacular in a free, colloquial style, within the reach of almost any Indian school-boy. The impression left is, that Christianity has forged a mighty weapon which she should be wielding herself, but

which she has allowed her foes to take up and wield against her.<sup>1</sup>

There is now apparent in many directions in the life of India a fervid activity which is foreign to the Indian temperament, but which is nevertheless entering and transforming it. Deeper and perhaps farther reaching than that political unrest which has recently through its dramatic effects so challenged the attention of the West, is a moral and spiritual unrest; an unrest which, unless it is brought under the guidance of vigorous and rightly directed Christian influence, and culminates in the peace and assurance which the dominion of Christ alone can give, is likely to lead to far less satisfactory results than we have reason to look for in the immediate future in the merely political realm. It often seems to us that the Indian Government is giving far more thought and taking far greater pains to ensure a stable political future for the embryonic Indian nationality than the Christian Church is for that new moral and intellectual life which it has itself brought into being in this country.

Is the Church, in planning and directing its missionary effort, taking cognizance of the facts we have mentioned? The average supporter at home likes to hear tales of missionary statesmanship quite as much as of missionary heroism and missionary success. Doubtless there is such a thing as missionary statesmanship; but its triumphs, or supposed triumphs, are far more frequently measured by a standard that lays stress upon the dramatic seizure of what are called strategic positions or the snatching up of opportunities of immediate numerical success, than by one that seeks in Christian statesmanship the application of the principles of Christianity to the whole life of the people under some great controlling conception of the true meaning of the present and the ultimate aim of the future.

It is true that we must seize God-given opportunities,

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<sup>1</sup> Yet the Christian Literature Society for India remains one of the worst supported societies in existence.

but we need to be on our guard lest the dramatic side of certain situations so captivate us as to lead us to acquire a taste for, and practically give ourselves over to, what may be mere diplomacy. Diplomacy frequently passes for statesmanship, but statesmanship is always greater than diplomacy. The prophet and the diplomat have often been at variance, and the former has been right. The true statesman must be something of a prophet; with not merely the prophet's vision and power of interpretation, but with the prophet's ruling ideals, and his calm confidence in the ultimate triumph of what is truly great.

We fear that the popular clamour for immediately measurable results, for striking incidents and touching stories, and the ready response to the appeals of the man whose lot is cast in a sphere which not infrequently furnishes these things, may not merely prove a temptation to others not so situated to manufacture them, but may tend also to transform the missionary who began as a prophet into a mere ingenious and hard-working diplomatist. Some of us to whom mere diplomacy is peculiarly abhorrent have yet felt its tempting power in moments when the immediate present bore hard upon us, and the idea of getting those on whom we were dependent for the support of our work to recognize the supreme claim of what was most vital in that work seemed a hopeless one. The temptation has come to live and work and plead merely for the thing that seemed to be paying best in the matter of popular support. Nor is the situation without its temptations to missionary boards and committees, when obedience to the pressure of uneducated popular sentiment would seem to carry with it some relief from the intolerable burden of perpetual financial problems. Yet it is perhaps not fair to charge the Christian public at large with narrowness. It is not only impossible for every man to be an expert, but it is impossible also for many to follow intelligently the expert's views; and a blind confidence even in its missionary leaders is not one of the characteristics of the age; especially if such leaders

should demand the prophet's view of history rather than that of the journalist or diplomatist.

We are quite aware that there can be too much theorizing and philosophizing about missions; but, so far as we are able to judge, there is at present too little. Nevertheless, we believe that that part of the Christian public which supports foreign missions is more desirous than ever to know not only the facts, but their meaning, and such we now especially have in view.

There are hundreds of friends at home, both rich and poor, who are easily rallied by an appeal to their sympathies on behalf of the famine-stricken or oppressed, or by the cry of 'another village waiting to be won for Christ.' But we would remind them that all that India needs has not been done when such appeals have met with a measure of response. Through more than half its history we ourselves have been connected with a mission which numbers its converts by villages rather than by individuals, and are prepared to testify that there is immense value in the large ingathering of non-caste peoples, in spite of the crudeness of their Christian conceptions, or the mixed, and as yet imperfectly analysed, motives which lead them to adopt the new religion. No right-thinking person, least of all the missionary who has had an intimate connexion with one of them, can undervalue the importance of those movements of whole communities Christward which is taking place in India today. But if their mere mass, as it were, is so kept before the eye as to obliterate everything else, we feel sure that the result—even in the case of these peoples themselves—will be far from adequately contributing to the speedy conversion of India in that full sense in which we interpret the phrase, namely, that of reforming India's mind and character after the pattern of the mind and character of Christ.

Convert-making, especially amongst certain classes, is easier than character-making, and is as a rule far more prolific of those dramatic effects which appeal to the

popular imagination. But the one must be aimed at with and through the other; and the Christian Church at home must be prepared to stand by those who would gladly make the larger effort, but who at present find it difficult to obtain support for what would enable them to carry their work to its true fruition. We do not believe in preaching the gospel anywhere without aiming at and looking for immediate results. These are not everywhere obtainable; but even where they are, quality is always of more value than quantity, and in the end leads more surely to the ultimate securing of quantity which has also the right quality. We dare not minimize the value, either in itself or as a factor in India's redemption, of that phenomenal numerical success which has in recent years attended the work of missionaries amongst the non-caste races; neither dare we allow the glamour of this pleasing picture to prevent us from turning our gaze likewise upon others less pleasing, but equally true. That much that is noblest in the development of India's newly awakened life is slipping out of touch with avowed Christianity we have already indicated; and have at least hinted that if Christianity is again to take charge of its own forces, those who direct missionary effort must take into fuller consideration than perhaps they have done hitherto the deeper facts of Indian life, those facts which lie 'behind the Indian veil.'

Are we working for a regenerated Indian character? That India's great need is character is often portrayed in two pictures which, if put side by side and viewed stereoscopically, present one impression cleared and intensified by the sharpness of its outline and the truth of its perspective. There is deep rooted in the Indian character the failure to profit by the lessons of experience, a failure often to learn anything whatever from the most patent teaching of history. Side by side with this is a painful inability to make a moral stand in conformity to what is admitted as true and morally binding, and the finding of a perfectly satisfying excuse in either the force of circumstances, or the temporary acceptance of an alter-



native position which is both intellectually and morally the negative of that already admitted as ultimate. This failure is often regarded, especially by those who are new to the country, as being due to a want of logic, or to some other intellectual defect. But to us it presents itself as entirely a question of character.

The more closely we become acquainted with the workings of the Indian mind, the more we are convinced of its intellectual greatness. Though the Indian method of investigation, and its mode of statement in any discussion, so frequently widely differ from ours, we have never yet found an educated Indian who could not follow the steps of a Western argument. As to how far that which produces conviction in our minds does so in his, it is sometimes impossible to ascertain; but the tremendous difference very often between the standards accepted in thought and those adhered to in conduct is, we are convinced, not a question of mind but of morals, not of intellect but of character. The very possibility of being able to hold at one and the same time mutually exclusive positions is, when traced to its source, not a mere intellectual peculiarity but a lack of that sensitiveness to the supreme value of truth which is the ultimate basis of character.

The very defects and contradictions of India's philosophy which, sympathetically considered, show an extraordinary faculty for the most profound and fearless thinking, are far less to be explained by the influences of a peculiar environment than by the presence of a moral timidity which refuses to recognize the personal obligation logically imposed by the conclusions reached. The Hindu is not too weak-brained to see the logic; he is too weak-minded really to face the facts. Illustrations of this weakness are abundant even in the realm of such practical issues as are involved in modern social reforms.

We are now in the age of the Hindu reformer, a type frequently overrated by those who know him only from the outside, or judge of him by his writings and public utterances, but perhaps as often underrated by those who

should know better. We do not wish to fall into either error, and especially would not like to be understood to imply that we have no faith whatever in the genuineness of the Hindu reformer's ideals and utterances. We are convinced that, while there may be a few impostors, there are many who have experienced a true awakening and are fired by the truest patriotism—the desire to see their fellow countrymen reach a higher platform of moral and social attainment. When, however, we look more closely at the movement they represent, not only do we see that the reformer frequently fails to awaken the conscience of the masses, but that often the reason why he fails is that he lacks the courage to follow his own teaching. Even when conscious of the hypocrisy of his position, he does not feel its personal moral culpability so much as fear the public shame or the loss of popularity it would bring him if it were as clear to others as it is to himself.

We have on several occasions conversed with men who were really keenly desirous of living in harmony with the higher moral and social ideals which had come to them, and longed for the day when a general movement in that direction should carry them with it; but who have unblushingly admitted their inability to stand alone, or even to be in the minority. The strangeness of it all is this frank admission by Indians themselves. It is a kind of hopeless confession of paralysis, the more hopeless because it seems to contain the impossibility of recognizing the cause of the disease. In writing the above we have had in view Indian character as a whole; but this truly national characteristic is, if not equally marked, yet still clearly present in the Indian Christian Church. It is gloriously true that Christianity has brought into the mind of those who have become in any sense the true followers of Christ, a new conscience in this matter; and that amongst the most enlightened Christians there is a sense of personal responsibility for that which is, in the mind of the Hindu, either left unexplained, or attributed to invincible fate. Yet even on the part of Christians,

there is an all-too-complacent acceptance of the position that that which is ideally true is yet impossible of realization in life and conduct.

In relation to the salvation of the world in general, and of India in particular, we believe in the unique importance of the mission of the Christian Church. The leaven of the character which India needs is undoubtedly being spread through many agencies that are not directly and ostensibly connected with the work of the Christian Church; but we are convinced that if Indian character is to be fully developed, it must be through the direct agency of the Indian Christian Church.

Nothing perhaps is more interesting to the missionary who has for many years been exiled from his own land than to watch the growing influence of the Church's ideals upon the national life of the country to which he belongs. He can often, by the very fact that he is outside these things, view with greater grasp and clearness the progress of events, and see the immediate connexion between the best in the Church's life and the best in national character.

How then are we to assist that growth of character in the Indian Christian Church which shall make it a renewing force in the national life? This question has by no means been lost sight of, and has, indeed, in some of its aspects, been considerably discussed of late on the mission field itself. In these discussions, the greatest prominence has perhaps been given to the idea of fostering a spirit of independence in the Indian Christian Church. The ideal frequently set before Indian Christians is briefly expressed in the statement that the Indian Christian Church should be self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. While the idea which is expressed in the words 'self-propagating' is a distinct one, we feel that it is often too intimately associated with self-support and self-government. There is at least a suspicion in our minds that this particular association of ideas and ideals is to some extent forced into prominence by the pressure

of the heavy financial responsibilities which hamper the missionary and burden the Society to which he belongs. We believe that self-support and home-missionary effort will rise more rapidly out of an all-round development of Christian character than out of any detailed scheme for securing large gifts on the part of our Indian Churches, any insistence on the idea that self-government and self-support go hand in hand, or any preaching of the virtue of a spirit of independence.

It is therefore both the duty and the high privilege of the missionary to throw himself heart and soul into the work of giving a helping hand to the Church in every attempt it makes to struggle upward. This implies close and sympathetic study of its problems in the light of a clear understanding of its possibilities and present environment. True fitness for such a study may demand qualities of a high order. But the lack of such intimate knowledge of and close contact with the people as is essential to this fuller understanding of the Church's life, is, in the present day, far less due to defect or neglect in the missionary than to the conditions of modern missionary life. If the missionary is to be a true helper to the indigenous Christian Church, guiding it aright to a realization of its mission through the all-round development of its character, he must have time to live; and not merely time, but sufficient freedom from care and anxiety about the support of his work as shall leave his mind at liberty to win its way to the heart of problems that will never yield their secret to the casual and hurried treatment of an overworked brain further enfeebled by an overburdened spirit. No missionary wants less to do. What he does want is the chance to put himself into what is his real work.

An important step towards this development of character in the Church as a whole is taken when watchful attention is paid to the development of individuals. This must never be forced; it must not even be guided without extreme caution; but every sign of spirituality, zeal, and

initiative should be watched and encouraged. The Indian Church must, through its own leaders, shape its own destiny; and this will never be rightly done if either Indian ministers or Indian leading laymen are merely faithful copyists of Western originals. We do not want to substitute the pleasing appearance of an excellent work of art for the beauty and force of a living personality.

We believe that the growth of the Indian Church is frequently retarded by the tacit acceptance of the idea that development is to be obtained by the same processes as are successful in the Churches of the West. By some missionaries—and not only those who are bound by a rigid ecclesiasticism—forms of worship, methods of teaching and preaching, and even of giving, which they have been accustomed to in the West, are regarded almost with as much reverence as the essentials of Christian truth. While we are quite aware that the new Indian Church may have a good deal to learn from the history of the Church as a whole, we can never be persuaded that form and ceremony are of any value in themselves. Life means order, and order must of necessity express itself in some form; but no form can be justified which has become so fixed and hardened as to prevent that change of expression which is the essential characteristic of life. We never conduct a service in an Indian Christian Church upon the accepted lines—which are really Western lines—without realizing their strange divergence from that which is characteristically Indian; and have often noticed that when even the best drilled of our own people are left to themselves, their religious life finds natural expression in forms far removed from those which have become almost second-nature to most of us.

The practical Western mind, with its highly developed ethics of everyday life and its insistence upon the word 'duty,' is continually shocked by the apparent want of harmony between creed and conduct which manifests itself even in the Church in India; and in its effort to remedy this state of things is frequently, and after all

naturally, led to make the same kind of appeal to the Indian mind as it would make to the Western mind under such circumstances. In doing so it seems never to have fully appreciated the value of developing that great characteristic of Indian life which has often enabled the individual Hindu to defy misleading philosophies and resist the corruption of idolatry and superstition, namely, its inherent spirituality.

It may appear strange to those who have but a superficial acquaintance with Indian life, or whose attention has, by the circumstances in which they have been placed, been concentrated upon its defective morality, that we should speak of inherent spirituality as its great characteristic; yet to our mind this view is alike confirmed by a study of its higher thought, and by a close observation of many aspects of religious life both in the Christian and non-Christian spheres.

We cannot here support the claim in detail, but we have no hesitation in making the statement, that the average Indian, heathen though we may call him, is on a far higher moral and religious plane than that occupied by the heathen peoples of Africa or the islands of the South Sea, as their condition is depicted by those who have lived and worked amongst them; and we believe that this is in the main accounted for by the fact that spiritual conceptions have a more ultimate appeal to him than they appear to have to some of the less cultured races of mankind.

The strange mixture of beliefs, and the impossibility often of determining their mutual relations, make it exceedingly difficult to sum up almost anything with regard to the religious life of India in a general statement; and in no country is it more true that isolated cases and particular instances may create an impression completely misleading: yet we think our claim for what we have called inherent spirituality could be made good with regard to Indian character.

We have frequently attempted the analysis of that



reverence which is universally and ungrudgingly accorded in India to men of recognized piety, and have come to regard it as one illustration of this characteristic. This attitude obtains almost in every class of the people towards a man whose character is moulded and whose life is dominated by adherence to a spiritual principle, whether he be a Mohammedan, a Hindu, or a Christian. It is true that there is often in it a large element of fear, upon which, in some instances, the so-called 'holy man' may trade; but it is far from a correct reading of the facts to say that this is the one explanation, or that in the case of the more cultured it has anything at all to do with it. It is true also that the Hindu will give such reverence to men who are not worthy of it. This, however, we are convinced, is often due to a defective conception of the relation of spirituality to ethics.

As to how spirituality should manifest itself, the average Indian may be greatly in need of education, though we are convinced that his ideas are really clearer and more nearly approach the truth than is sometimes suspected; but these considerations do not invalidate the fact that a spiritual conception of the meaning of life, which can carry a man so far as to regard the interests of the soul as paramount, and make worth while the sacrifice of every worldly consideration to their advantage, strongly appeals to the Indian mind. The Indian 'bhakti,' even within the life of the Christian Church, frequently manifests itself in ways which, to say the least of them, are strange to us; and their strangeness, we fear, not infrequently leads the missionary to underestimate their value and even to repress their expression.

We believe that what is most needed in the interests of self-development in the Indian Christian Church on the part of Western missionaries, is such a close touch with the people as shall bring with it a clear recognition of this force, and lead to an understanding of the way in which it is to be developed both in the individual and in the Church. We are perfectly certain ourselves that this

development will never be secured by rigidly forcing its expression into those shapes in which religious belief unfolds itself in the West. We are not merely theorizing, but have approached this part of our subject in this way in order to raise in an effective manner the question of the missionary's personal relation to the people amongst whom he lives, and to the work in which he is employed. The right dealing with these questions is largely a question of the right personal attitude; and the right personal attitude is a question of the right personality.

It is not possible to exercise too much care either in the selection or the training of those who are sent as missionaries to this country; and, judging by the men who in recent years have been sent to parts of the Indian field with which we are personally acquainted, this important fact has been kept well in view by those who have been responsible for their selection. There will always be a few failures, but the present average is undoubtedly high. The work demands, however, that if possible it should become yet higher.

It would have been easy at the close of this article to have elaborated a convincing appeal for the increase or strengthening of agencies, philanthropic, educational, and literary, in view of the increased efforts which are being made in all these spheres by non-Christian India outside Christian control; or to have raised a powerful plea for the training of our Indian agency and the better equipment of our colleges and schools. It is hard to refrain from such appeal.

We wish, however, to go to the root of the matter; which, briefly stated, is, that the Indian Christian Church itself must make and develop these agencies, and not import them; but that at present it needs to be developed and guided with that end in view by missionaries who are rightly equipped for this great service.

Surely no greater service can be offered to the most privileged and cultured sons of Methodism. We want the right kind of men; but, when their selection has to

be made almost entirely from those who offer themselves for our ministry, the right men cannot be found in sufficient numbers without robbing to a dangerous extent the ranks of the home ministry, if they constitute but a sprinkling of those who do offer. We would urge upon our brethren in the ministry at home the glorious privilege of enthusing the best young man they can lay their hands upon with a passion to have a share in the noblest and most difficult task the Christian Church has ever been called upon to perform. The office of the Christian minister is a great office; that of the Christian missionary, especially the missionary who comes to India at this crisis in its history, excels in greatness by reason of its outcry for the sacrificial devotion to its service of all the best that man can ever offer to God. There is no young man in Methodism so wealthy, so spiritually minded, so cultured, so scholarly, so strong, so brilliant, but could more surely hope to rise to a perfect self-realization, through perfect self-surrender to Christ's service in India, than by the choice of any other career to which the possession of such qualities holds the key.

J. C. KNIGHT ANSTEY.

## THE PERMANENT INFLUENCE OF NEWMAN

*Cardinal Newman.* CHARLES SAROLEA, D.Ph., D.Litt.  
(Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark.)

*The Mystery of Newman.* HENRI BREMOND. Introduction  
by FATHER TYRRELL. (London : Williams & Norgate.)

*Cardinal Newman.* R. H. HUTTON. (London : Methuen  
& Co.)

*Newman, an Appreciation.* ALEXANDER WHYTE, D.D.  
(Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier.)

**E**VEN those who differ essentially from Newman as to fundamental matters of faith and polity regard him, both as a leader of religion and a man of letters, as one of the greatest products of the nineteenth century. Everywhere in his writings we are confronted with a personality which, despite its occasional coldness and designed cynicism, its oscillation between the cultivation and the suppression of the emotional, and its serene and at times almost tantalizing deliberateness, is charged with a peculiar fascination, while his subtle genius compels our admiration whatever our opinion may be of the subject with which he deals. Individuality, always definite though rarely consciously obtruded, is discoverable in few writers more certainly and more constantly than in Newman. His famous *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* is not by any means the only defence of his life and faith ; in all his polemical works, in his treatises and essays, and especially in his imperishable sermons, his soul speaks, giving fresh revealings of the many-sidedness of his character. It is always and everywhere Newman that we see, rarely ever exactly the same Newman, and yet, to employ an intelligible paradox, ever

strangely approximating to the same. 'We might apply to Newman,' writes his most recent biographer, Dr. Sarolea, 'what Faguet says of Voltaire: each single sentence is luminously clear, but the forty volumes which constitute his works leave us in utter darkness'; which same saying is a clever half-truth, and in so far as it is true but adds a piquancy to the study of this most composite mind. It is untrue that we are left in utter darkness, just as untrue as to say that we are in a position to know him perfectly, for at the moment when we think we have discovered the salient features of his life something unnoticed before obtrudes itself which obliges a partial readjustment of our conceptions concerning him. As Dr. Sarolea says in a later chapter (although this again is somewhat too sweeping), 'Newman is an ascetic, and at the same time he is an artist, a literary epicure, appreciating beauty of style, even as in his youth he would be asked to taste and to select the vintages of his college. He is affectionate and reserved. He has the imagination of a mystic and the corrosive intellect of a sceptic. He delights in intellectual difficulties and yearns for certainty. He is sincerity incarnate, and possessed of a subtlety which the greatest casuist might have envied. He is disinterested to the verge of self-abdication . . . and at the same time he is egotistic, introspective, and of an almost morbid subjectivity. He is timid and aggressive. He loves solitude, and yet no man in this century has drawn to himself so many hearts. Indeed, after having striven for ten years to solve the riddle of the sphinx, I am inclined to admit that the riddle is insoluble, and that the safest attitude with regard to Newman is to admire without trying to understand.'<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Readers of Dr. Sarolea's uneven volume, however, may be tempted to think that all the difficulties in the solution of the riddle do not reside in Newman; witness, for example, his penetrating (!) summary of Methodism on page 8: 'A purely sentimental and sensational, hysterical and sectarian religion, it ignored both dogma and discipline. It acted on the heart rather than on the reasoning faculties, and on the nerves rather

Over against Dr. Sarolea's view of Newman we must place that massive and unsparing first lecture in Dr. Alexander Whyte's *Newman: an Appreciation*, where, writing as his 'most admiring and most open-minded reader,' he rends the veil, and, with the utmost courtesy yet with the most searching candour, lays bare the secret of this strangely elusive soul. To this may be added the altogether charming psychological study by M. Bremond, the most 'genial' and 'artistic' (to quote Father Tyrrell's words), and on the whole the most original of all the Newman biographies.

Newman created—or at least materially strengthened—a strong impulse in the Romeward tendency of an aggressive section of the National Church. That such a tendency exists we need no further proof than that it is openly avowed by those who, dissatisfied with following Romish practices under the guise of Anglo-Catholic ritual, have taken the inevitable step and have sought admission into 'the One Fold of Christ.' But to dwell upon this fact at length, to trace by excerpts from the *Apologia* and the *Tracts* some of its causes to the influence of Newman, would be to fight the battle in the wrong place, and would prove an unprofitable wandering into the realm of distasteful polemics. In answer to Newman's *Letter to the Duke*

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than on the emotions. It operated individual conversions; it was not a social force. It was content with stimulating religiosity; it did not restore religion. It was a new sect; it was not a reformation of the Church.' Or again, his statement that, about the time of Newman's 'conversion,' 'at Cambridge, the famous triumvirate of Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort, were introducing into the interpretation of the Bible the most advanced methods of German Higher Criticism' (p. 33). The book from which these extracts are made must not be judged by their standard; Dr. Sarolea is not always quite so entertaining, but he evidently understands Methodism as well as Newman did Wesley, vide *The Development of Doctrine*, pp. 39-43. And concerning 'the most advanced methods of German Higher Criticism' the possibility comes to us with something of a shock of horror that Baur and Strauss might have been in England in the guise of the Cambridge three! The principle seems to be: see the sheepskin and suspect the wolf!



of Norfolk, Mr. Gladstone writes: 'In my opinion, his secession from the Church of England has never yet been estimated among us at anything like the full amount of its calamitous importance. . . . The ecclesiastical historian will perhaps hereafter judge that this secession was a much greater event even than the partial secession of John Wesley, the only case of personal loss suffered by the Church of England, since the Reformation, which can be at all compared with it in magnitude. I do not refer to its effect upon the mere balance of schools or parties in the Church; that is an inferior question. I refer to its effect upon the state of positive belief, and the attitude and capacities of the religious mind of England. Of this, thirty years ago, he had the leadership; an office and power from which none but himself could eject him.

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus  
Tam cari capitis?

It has been his extraordinary, perhaps unexampled case, at a critical period, first to give to the religious thought of his time and country the most powerful impulse which for a long time it had received from any individual; and then to be the main though, without doubt, involuntary cause of disorganizing it in a manner as remarkable, and breaking up its forces into a multitude of not only severed but conflicting bands.'

Newman as a leader of religion would never have become the power, for good or ill, of which Gladstone speaks had he not chosen to make his peerless books the vehicle of his opinions; and these, embodying the principles which he fashioned for himself, and which led him by his own inflexible logic relentlessly to Rome, are among the contributory factors to that recognition of his genius which few have been unwilling to render. His books and his dogmas have in them elements of the permanent, and as a man of letters Newman ranks high among the great Victorian writers. Who that has read any half-dozen of his volumes has not felt their magic compulsion and in-

describable charm, their consummate grace and easy, unlaboured naturalness which is the very breath and soul of all literary beauty? What perfect examples of English they are! How clearly do they convey the thought which glowed in Newman's mind—'the work of an intellect sharp enough to cut the diamond, and bright as the diamond which it cuts.' And this notwithstanding the occasional paragraphs of mist and darkness. These, however, are the rare exceptions into which any writer may lapse, and like dashes of black cloud in a sky of blue by their contrast increase rather than diminish the splendour of the whole. In a self-revealing mood Newman takes us into his confidence and tells us the price he paid for the mastery of this translucent style. 'My book on Justification has taken incredible time. I am quite worn out with correcting. I do really think that every correction I make is for the better, and that I am not wasting time in an over-fastidious way, or even making it worse than it was; but I can only say this—openings for correction are inexhaustible. I write, I write again; I write a third time in the course of six months. Then I take the third; I literally fill the paper with corrections, so that another person could not read it. I then write it out fair for the printer. I put it by; I take it up; I begin to correct again; it will not do. Alterations multiply, pages are re-written, little lines sneak in and crawl about. The whole page is disfigured; I write again; I cannot count how many times this process is repeated.' All this labour, this passionate quest after perfection, lies behind a simple page of his writings. The elasticity, the verve, the lucidity, the simplicity of his style, which seemed to be Nature's peculiar gift, have come to their consummation through much striving after the ideal. It is said that Tennyson wrote the little garden song in *Maud* fifty times, and these are but vagrant illustrations of that well-worn saying that 'genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains.' It is well that Newman has permitted us this momentary glimpse into his workshop; it may provide others with that impulse so necessary in their toil.

What Goethe said of his art was doubtless true of Newman: nothing came to him in his sleep. If we add to these multitudinous re-writings a whole-hearted sympathy with the subjects he handles, we have revealed before our eyes the secret of Newman's inimitable style. Dr. Sanday, in his great article on 'Jesus Christ' in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, points out the limitations of our present *Lives of Christ*, and adds, 'What is wanted is a Newman, with science and adequate knowledge. No one has ever touched the Gospels with so much innate kinship of spirit as he.' There is little need to dwell further on the matter of Newman's writings, or to attempt to estimate his great book on *The Arians*, his *Development of Christian Doctrine*, his *Grammar of Assent*, or his *Apologia*, for have we not Whyte's *Appreciation*? And touching his style, it is enough to say that Mr. R. H. Hutton has made it the subject of a brilliant Essay in *Modern Guides of English Thought in Matters of Faith*! These books of Newman, whatever their merit and whatever their teaching, will do much to perpetuate his influence.

The lover of the Newman literature may find himself more than a little out of harmony with the principles it advocates. It is a medium of propaganda of calamitous significance to the Protestant Faith. Newman was essentially a controversialist, and that both aggressive and defensive. He launched the *Tracts* and he wrote the *Apologia*. Under the influence of Hurrell Froude, an influence which doubtless originated the earliest Rome-ward tendencies of Newman, and aided first by the author of *The Christian Year*, to whom he attributes the inspiration of the whole Movement, and afterward at a much later date by Dr. Pusey, he started that series of treatises which has done so much to fashion later Anglican thought, and incidentally to create such tragic breaches in her ranks.<sup>1</sup> From the avowed sincerity of those passages in the *Apologia* which refer to this Movement, it is clear that at

<sup>1</sup> For a glimpse of what it might have been cf. *A New History of Methodism*, vol. i. p. 64.

its inception nothing was further from Newman's thought than that it should ultimately point to Rome, yet such it inevitably did. With the passing of the years the attitude of the *Tracts* became more definite and daring. Strongly though he might repudiate it, and however much he closed his eyes to it when intervention was too late, Rome was the true goal of the Movement. What else could be expected? The *Tracts* deliberately forsook the old Protestant principle of the Bible and the Bible only as the sole inspiration and rule of faith. They made the Church the vehicle of grace; they elaborated simplicity into ritual; they appealed to Patristic literature as confidently and as often as to the Word of God. As Dr. Rashdall has said, not one whit too strongly, 'One of the most characteristic *Tracts for the Times* advocated a method of interpretation designed to reconcile with the letter of the Thirty-nine Articles precisely those doctrines of the Roman Church against which it is admitted that they were, in the minds of their framers, intended to guard' (*Anglican Liberalism*, pp. 80, 81). Their writers argued that 'so soon as we have clear evidence of the tendency of God's will from any one source, natural piety ought to make us eager to supplement our knowledge of it, so far as it is possible to do so from any other sufficient source of knowledge, just as a son who had certain documentary evidence of his father's wishes would, if he heartily loved that father, be eager to supplement the knowledge so acquired by the oral testimony of any credible witnesses of his father's death, who should tell him that he had expressed wishes to them about him which were not embodied in the formal will.' It must be confessed that this is a dainty argument. The illustration, too, is shrewdly chosen; it possesses an appeal to our tenderest human affections, and on that ground carries a peculiar power of appeal. But therein lies its danger. A man's practice often begins with his principles and then goes beyond them, and the Tractarians made the error of attaching as much importance to traditional testimony as to documentary evidence; in other words, Patristic lore

became as binding as Scriptural law. The supplement became the substitute. But that notwithstanding, Newman even after his 'conversion' held steadfastly to the belief that the teaching of the *Tracts* was essentially Anglican. They were not Romish, though they might become such. At least so the passage in the *Apologia* which emanates from the year 1841 affirms. A stranger had written to him saying that the *Tracts* had made a young friend of his a Catholic, and asking him to endeavour to convert him back. 'I made answer: If conversions to Rome take place in consequence of the *Tracts for the Times*, I do not impute blame to them, but to those who, instead of acknowledging such Anglican principles of theology and ecclesiastical polity as they contain, set themselves to oppose them. Whatever be the influence of the *Tracts*, great or small, they may be just as powerful for Rome, if our Church refuses them, as they would be for our Church if she accepted them. If our rulers speak either against the *Tracts*, or not at all, if any number of them, not only do not favour, but even do not suffer the principles contained in them, it is plain that our members may easily be persuaded either to give up those principles, or to give up the Church. If this state of things goes on, I mournfully prophesy, not one or two, but many secessions to the Church of Rome.' But in the notorious *Tract* to which Dr. Rashdall's words, already quoted, refer (No. 90, *Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles*), bearing the date of that same year, he says—and they are the last words of the last of the *Tracts*—'A French minister, desirous of war, nevertheless, as a matter of policy, draws up his state papers in such moderate language, that his successor, who is for peace, can act up to them, without compromising his own principles. The world, observing this, has considered it a circumstance for congratulation; as if the former minister, who acted a double part, had been caught in his own snare. It is neither decorous, nor necessary, nor altogether fair, to urge the parallel rigidly; but it will explain what it is here

meant to convey. The Protestant Confession was drawn up with the purpose of including Catholics; and Catholics now will not be excluded. What was an economy<sup>1</sup> in the reformers, is a protection to us. What would have been a perplexity to us then, is a perplexity to Protestants now. We could not then have found fault with their words; they cannot now repudiate our meaning.' *This in 1841!* Well might Kingsley ask, 'What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?' And keen as was Newman's retort, one cannot altogether get away from the feeling that there are passages in the *Apologia* which are suggestive of the *argumentum ad hominem*. Newman in 1841 was professedly an Anglican, and the drift of the former passage was to put the whole responsibility of the effects of the *Tracts* upon the rulers of the Church, whereas that responsibility could but rest logically with their authors and readers. And frequently the latter were ill-prepared for theological and ecclesiastical controversy!<sup>2</sup> We leave the matter there, merely adding that as the Movement did not end with the censures passed upon the epochal

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<sup>1</sup> "Economy" is one of the words of the Newmanian Lexicon. The word and thing were, as is known, brought into vogue by the fathers of the Alexandrine school. A wise economist, instead of at once handing over all his stores for seizure, distributes them piecemeal according to daily requirements. The case of the master is similar, who must proportion his lessons to the actual knowledge of the pupils, keep to himself, hide, "economize" part of the truth. Being for a long time the leader of a religious party, of which the enemy watched for the slightest trip, a conductor of souls fully conscious of the responsibilities of his mission, a teacher by instinct and taste, feeling also an artist's pleasure in the handling of implications and allusions—these, and other causes as well made Newman, in other respects so loyal, so straightforward, and even sometimes so opinionated, an "economist" of the first order. After all, the question put by the good Canon, when at bay, was not so foolish: "What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?" The folly consisted in casting a doubt on the honour of a gentleman, in confusing "economy" with "lying" (Bremond, *The Mystery of Newman*, p. 5). This raises the important question of motive, and to the ingenuous English mind, of which Kingsley was a good example, it bears the semblance of a pretty word which covers an ugly theory.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Coleridge, *Memoir of the Rev. John Keble*, pp. 223-4.



*Ninetieth Tract*, it may be said to be one of the permanent influences of Newman.

The period of the *Via Media* must have been both distasteful and unsatisfactory to Newman. He could not, to use his own phrase, 'stand upon one leg' for ever. Mr. R. H. Hutton's apt parallel fairly describes his position. 'Almost all his books of the period remind me of the soundings which are taken in the supposed neighbourhood of land when a ship has run for several days by the log alone, and has not been able to get the altitude of the sun at noon. Then the lead is cast every two or three minutes, while the cry of the number of fathoms is anxiously listened to by the ship's crew and passengers.' At all events he was ill at ease with his religious beliefs and ecclesiastical dogmas. He craved authority, and holding such views of Scripture as we know him to have held; and such conceptions of Justification as are contained in his great, though defective, essay; and seeing such strange parallels between the heretics of the early centuries and Protestants as he saw, while to him Rome ever retained her essential characteristics, it is not to be wondered at that there were those constant soundings of which Mr. Hutton speaks. And when, in 1841, an Anglican bishop was consecrated for the See of Jerusalem, it was easy for him to argue, 'If England could be in Palestine, Rome might be in England,' and, as on that ground his last objection was broken, he could seek her shelter and appeal to her authority. But an Anglican might reply that the same argument *reversed* would suffice for him, and he would have chronology on his side, for before ever England was in Palestine Rome was in our midst.

It is to Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, famous because of its main thesis and because of its being either his last Anglican or his first Catholic publication—the critics are uncertain which!—that we must turn to discover the sources of his most permanent theological influence. It employed, in illustration of his theory, those principles of biological evolution

which in later years Darwin and Wallace formulated into a science, and it is indirectly a good example of the quality of Newman's mind. He contended that the seven tests by which a true development could be distinguished from a corrupt are the preservation of the essential idea, the continuity of principles, the power of assimilation, early anticipation, logical sequence, preservative additions, and chronic continuance. It would be folly to attempt to condense the teaching associated with these tests, or to estimate their intrinsic value. They are the very heart of the book, and their tendency in the hands of Newman is beyond doubt Romeward. But in the hands of a Protestant they would receive an altogether different exposition, and their tendency would be consequently reversed. No Protestant objects, for example, to 'preservative additions' provided that they do preserve. But additions which claim this must be free from the suspicion of corruptness, otherwise, having lost their saltiness, they fail in their essential work. But Newman anticipates an objection of this kind. 'When Roman Catholics,' he writes, 'are accused of substituting another Gospel for the primitive creed, they answer that they hold, and can show that they hold, the doctrines of the Incarnation and Atonement, as firmly as any Protestant can state them. To this it is replied that they do certainly profess them, but that they obscure and virtually annul them by their additions; that the *cultus* of St. Mary and the Saints is no development of the truth, but a corruption, because it draws away the mind and heart from Christ. They answer that, so far from this, it subserves, illustrates, protects the doctrine of our Lord's condescension and mediation.' Throughout the treatise there are manifold appeals to a bewildering number of Patristic writers, some of them unknown men to the general reader. Frequently the name of a writer is advanced as lending authority to a certain view without any quotation to enable the reader to appraise the value of the evidence. This may have been designed to keep the work within reasonable proportions, but for his own sake

a student has the right to demand, without any intention of calling in question the veracity of his author, the actual evidence before he submits to its conclusions. Another of its idiosyncrasies is that Newman so frequently discovers parallels between the heretics of the Early Church and Protestants, the latter always wearing the garb of the schismatics. The volume elaborates the position adopted in Chapter III of the *Apologia*. 'In the middle of the fifth century, I found, as it seemed to me, Christendom of the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries reflected. I saw my face in that mirror, and I was a Monophysite. The Church of the *Via Media* was in the position of the Oriental communion, Rome was where she is now; and the Protestants were the Eutychians. Of all passages of history, since history has been, who would have thought of going to the sayings and doings of old Eutyches, that *delirus senex*, as (I think) Petavius calls him, and to the enormities of the unprincipled Dioscorus, in order to be converted to Rome!' Yes! who indeed? Or again, 'It was difficult to make out how the Eutychians or Monophysites were heretics, unless Protestants and Anglicans were heretics also. . . . The principles and proceedings of the Church now, were those of the Church then; the principles and proceedings of heretics then, were those of Protestants now. . . . The shadow of the fifth century was on the sixteenth.' It is the same with the Nestorians and Arians, their errors persist in the holders of the Reformed Faith, while Rome is the asylum of the perplexed and the stronghold of the orthodox! One holding these views could not remain with any show of honesty in the English Church. Newman's secession was inevitable, and of Father Dominic, the Passionist, in October 1845, he sought 'admission into the One Fold of Christ.' Newman then became an avowed, 'unmuzzled' Catholic, and before him there were more than forty years of untiring activity—the earlier tinged with regret at the loss of dearest friends, and pain at the suspicions of Manning and the Ultramontane party, the later of disappearing clouds and ever-widening

favour—years of endless controversy and of ceaseless zeal in the cause of Catholic education—years when his pen was rarely idle and his propaganda calmly unabating. But these years lie beyond the range of this article. Newman's influence by no means ended with his 'conversion'; it had only entered upon a fresh phase. Yet, touching Protestantism, though a glamour gathered over his name, he had shot his bolt, and the result was known. Newman had gained 'authority,' but, despite an earlier sentence, at the price of essential liberty. 'Among the many noble thoughts of Homer,' writes Gladstone of this 'conversion,' 'there is not one more noble or more penetrating than his judgement upon slavery. "On the day," he says, "that makes a bondman of the free,

"Wide-seeing Zeus takes half the man away."

He thus judges, not because the slavery of his time was cruel, for evidently it was not; but because it was slavery. What he said against servitude in the social order, we may plead against Vaticanism in the spiritual sphere; and no cloud of incense which zeal, or flattery, or even love can raise, should hide the disastrous truth from the vision of mankind.'

HERBERT S. SEEKINGS.

## LUTHER AND THE PEASANTS' WAR

**T**HOUGH we have many denunciations of Luther for his attitude towards the peasants, we have not in English a complete statement of what that attitude was. We have extracts from Luther, and fierce words in condemnation of him, but we have no exposition of his *whole* relation to the uprising. In the following paper I have for the first time given such an exposition. It may be when we see the whole Luther in this field we shall be able to be truer to the advice of the Lord in what might be taken as His motto for historians: John vii. 24.

It is a unique situation for a great historic character to be violently assailed from two opposite directions. This is the case with Luther in his attitude toward the Peasants' Insurrection—attacked on the one side by Christian and non-Christian socialists and on the other side by Roman Catholics. It will, therefore, be worth the reader's while to go back with me into that stirring time and study impartially Luther's actual relation to the great upheaval of 1525.

One or two preliminary remarks should be made.

1. Luther's supreme interest was in religious, not in social or economic, questions. Instruction in political economy formed no part of his training, and concern for it no part of his development. Everywhere, always, it was sin, righteousness, peace before God, the Church, sacraments—matters religious, which were in Luther's mind. Secular historians, college professors of history, and economic writers are inclined to emphasize the social, political and economic forces as the chief cause of the Reformation; but this view is superficial and in the main false. The Reformation came out of Luther's soul-struggles. Religion occupied nearly the whole of his horizon, as it did also that of most of those who made the Reformation.

2. We need not be surprised, then, that when he did come to speak of outside matters, he did so from the point of view of a religious man and not of a socialist, or economist, or expert in worldly things. He is controlled by the biblical view, the religious demand, and by that alone. The supreme authority of the Bible everywhere—that holds him. The religious interest, the safety of souls, the Scripture ideal—it is for these he is concerned.

3. Accordingly, standing on Matt. xxii. 21 and Rom. xiii. 1, Luther emphasized two things: first, the separate functions and tasks of State and Church, politics and religion, and second, the obligations of peaceful subjection to national authority. Of course in matters of conscience or salvation there were limits to that subjection, but his religious standpoint made these two principles ruling—separate fields for Church and State and obedience to law.

4. Luther was by nature and temperament a conservative. Radical or wholesale utterances at times must not mislead us into a misunderstanding of his real nature and attitude, which was that of a staunch and incurable conservative. There was nothing of the revolutionary about him.

So much being said, let us take up Luther's relation to this matter of the Peasants' War. I cannot go into the history or causes of this movement. Suffice it to say that in 1525 an insurrection or series of insurrections broke out which became formidable and widespread. The manifesto of one of these was published in a little pamphlet or broadside entitled, *Die zwölf Artikel der Bauernschaft in Schwaben* (1525).<sup>1</sup> These articles demanded: I. The right to appoint their own pastors and depose them if necessary. II. Abolition of tithes on cattle and other small tithes, reserving the duty of paying the grain tithe. III. Abolition of serfdom, though obedient to rightful authority, is

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<sup>1</sup> For these articles in English see Univ. of Penn. *Translations and Reprints* (Phil. 1895), ii, 6, pp. 18-24, and Gieseler, *Ch. Hist.* IV, 114-6.



guaranteed. IV. The right to hunt game and to fish. V. The right to cut wood in forests. If the forests are truly private property, let some fair adjustment be made. VI. Abolition of excessive and oppressive service. VII. Peasants must not be exploited by lords, but allowed to enjoy their holding in peace. VIII. Abolition of too-high rents. IX. There are too many laws and too much partiality in administering them. X. Restoration of commons to the people. XI. Abolition of the death due, or inheritance tax. XII. The Scriptures are the test of the justice of these and other articles. To us to-day these articles are moderate and just, though I suppose the owners of vast estates in either England or America would have little patience with the demand to fish or hunt in their woods or waters. But a religious, moderate, and reasonable spirit breathed through the twelve articles, which did not, however, represent the whole Peasant Movement, as other sections made their own demands and had their own platforms.

As this political warlike movement came out flying the colours of religious freedom and Scripture, Luther felt he must pay some attention to it. He did this in his book, *Ermahnung zum Frieden auf die zwölf Artikel der Bauernschaft in Schwaben* (April 1525).<sup>1</sup> Here he deals even-handed justice to both prince and peasant. He tells the nobles, lay and clerical, that they have been the spoilers of the poor, that their monstrous luxury and outrageous pride, to which they sacrificed everything, can be endured no longer. The anger of God will be poured upon you. Even if the peasants be beaten, God will yet punish you. You blame the uprising on me, whereas I have always taught obedience to authority, even to that of tyranny. It is for this that the prophets of murder hate me as bitterly as they do you. Cease your exactions, cease your despotism, treat the peasants as a man of sense treats a drunken man. Do not fight them, but strike for peace. As to the

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<sup>1</sup> Erlangen Ed. of Luther's *Werke*, 24 : 257 ff.

Twelve Articles, some of them are just. The first article about electing pastors is right. The articles concerning fines, death due, illegal services, &c., are equally just, for authority was not instituted for itself but for the advantage of the people. Luther then turns to the peasants. Your just complaints you must prosecute with moderation and justice. Heed not the prophets of murder. God has said, They that take the sword shall perish by the sword, and, Render honour to whom honour is due. The wickedness of authority is no warrant for revolt. Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord. Your enterprise, therefore, is contrary to both the Bible and natural law. If you had your way there would be no authority left. Christ says, Resist not evil, but turn the other cheek. Do you do that? Why has my cause prospered so well as it has? Why has the gospel gone forward in spite of pope and emperor? Because I have never drawn the sword, but always inculcated obedience to authority. But your insane enterprise will crush my work. Pause, reflect, stop before it is too late. Your articles have reference to temporal blessings, but these cannot be claimed on the ground of the gospel, which is the ground you allege. As soon as you appeal to force you leave the gospel. As to Article I: if the authorities will not support a pastor agreeable to the people, let the people support him themselves, and if the authorities will not permit him to preach, follow him elsewhere. Article II: you cannot dispose of a tithe which does not belong to you. Article III: as to serfdom you cannot apply gospel equality to worldly relations. Abraham kept bondmen. Paul himself says that the empire of this world cannot subsist without an inequality of persons. As to Articles IV-XII, I do not decide. I refer these matters to the lawyers. But the Christian is a martyr, and has no care for these things. Luther then makes a final appeal to both parties. You, lords, have against you Scripture and history. Both teach you that tyranny has always been punished. Look at the ancient empires—perished by the sword, because they rose

by the sword. You, peasants, have against you Scripture and history. He that takes the sword shall perish by the sword. And even though you were to triumph, you would speedily tear one another to pieces. Madmen! stop this blood and rapine. My earnest counsel is that arbitrators be chosen for each party, let each make concessions, and thus the matter will be accommodated.

We have here some thoroughly Luther-like principles or facts. (1) Utter fearlessness before both princes and peasants. (2) Revolt is never justified, as it is against the obedience commanded by Rom. xiii. (3) Bad rulers are better than none, because it is only authority—unjust though it may be at times—which saves from greater injustice, from robbery, murder, anarchy. (4) Matters of taxes, &c., are not of the gospel, but belong to secular law, and must be referred to experts. This last is fundamental with Luther—forms of government, details of administration, unless distinctly laid down in the Scriptures, do not bind the conscience. They are matters to be arranged by the authorities, of course according to justice and right, but do not come with religious obligation. In other words, the gospel is not law. Here Luther differed from both Calvin and the Anabaptists.<sup>1</sup>

In order to make less excusable Luther's second pamphlet on the peasant uprising, some writers represent him as knowing their excesses when he wrote his first.<sup>2</sup> This was not so. He knew nothing of the great outbreak over Swabia, of the Weinsberg massacre, nor of the advance of the peasants into middle Germany, though he knew of tumultuous bands in Swabia. The next two weeks or more saw rapid increase of the horrors of civil war, Luther's counsels disregarded, and Germany in the throes of calamities the outcome of which no mortal could tell. This made Luther feel that inasmuch as the peasants

<sup>1</sup> On this aspect see Schreckenbach, *Luther und der Bauernkrieg* (1895), 26 ff., cf. 23 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, Janssen, *Gesch. d. deutschen Volkes*, u.s.w., II, 490 Anm. (1st Ed.).

would not hear, but staked all on the sword, the sooner the sword had its way with them and ended the war the better. This feeling must have been deepened by the enthusiastic proclamation of Münzer, one of the great peasant leaders: 'On, on, on! The wicked tremble when they hear of you. Pity not, though Esau gives you fine words (Gen. xxxiii.). Heed not the groans of the godless. Spare not, as God commanded Moses not to show mercy (Deut. vii.). Rouse up the towns and villages, and especially the miners. On, on, on! While the fire is burning, while the hot sword is reeking, &c.' Luther feared all Germany would go down in a common ruin. So he came out with a second pamphlet, *Wider die mörderischen und räuberischen Rotten der Bauern* (May 15, 1525).<sup>1</sup> The peasants, he said, had promised to yield to instruction. But they do not, but rob and pillage and act as mad dogs. They practise mere devil's work, especially that arch-devil who reigns in Mühlhausen, who indulges in nothing else than robbery, murder, and bloodshed. Therefore I must bring their sins before them. With threefold horrible sins have they loaded themselves, for which they deserve death of body and soul. (1) They have turned traitors against their oath of allegiance to authority. (2) They rob and pillage monasteries not belonging to them. They have become public highwaymen and murderers, and, therefore, deserve death from any one, like a mad dog. (3) They screen horrible sins under the gospel, and compel people to join them. Under pretence of Scripture they commit crime, disregarding Matt. xxii. 2, Rom. xiii. 1, 1 Pet. ii. 13. Baptism makes the soul free, not body and goods. Therefore, let the princes and lords grasp the sword and show no mercy, for now is not time of mercy but of the sword. Let the civil power strike as long as it can move a muscle. If one dies on that side in the divine word and obedience, he is a martyr. If a peasant dies, he is a hell-brand. But have mercy on

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<sup>1</sup> 24: 287 ff.

those whom the peasants have compelled to join them. Stab, strike, strangle whoever can. If you are killed you could not have a more glorious death, for you die in obedience to God's word and duty (Rom. xiii. 1). If any one thinks this course too severe, let him remember that rebellion is intolerable.

It is hardly necessary to say that it is here where the severest criticism strikes Luther. 'He let himself loose on the side of the oppressors,' says Bax, 'with a bestial ferocity. . . . This second manifesto remains an ineffaceable stigma'<sup>1</sup> upon him. 'There was no necessity for this wild preaching of sword and wrath,' says Schreckenbach, 'and if the Reformer had only a small insight into the part which he had himself in inciting the masses, he could not have written this book. But because he was strangely lacking in this consciousness, he allowed himself to be driven into passionateness beyond all measure.'<sup>2</sup> Von Bezold says that 'we have not here to do with a passing welling-up of passion. Luther, who all his life esteemed the peasants but little and was disinclined toward them, stood by his words and was never tired of repeating that we should throttle all rebellious people without mercy, hold as sharp rein as possible on the lower classes. The ass will have the whip, and the people be governed by force. He later lamented that obstinate servants could no longer be treated as they were in the time of the patriarchs, "as personal goods or other cattle." And when the Saxon knight Einsiedel was troubled in conscience on account of the compulsory service (or scutage) of his peasants, Luther, Melanchthon and Spalatin sought to disabuse him of such foolish thoughts. Melanchthon wrote a refutation of the Twelve Articles for the Palatinate elector, which taught unconditioned subjection to the authorities and the unlimited right of State power. The authorities can demand taxes as much as

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<sup>1</sup> *The Peasants' War in Germany*, Lond. 1899, 279, 281.

<sup>2</sup> *Lib. cit.* 44.

they like without being under obligation to give any account of the use of the same; they can also take away the use of commons. In the administration of justice they can punish as they wish. Melancthon thinks serfdom too mild for such a "wild, untrained people as the Germans," and recommends a sharper use of penal measures. This last wish was soon to be fulfilled to a superfluous degree. But Luther's Reformation had broken with a great part of its past; and as decisively as it disowned every mixing up of its gospel with the "fleshly" thoughts of the common man and every connexion of its fate with the cause of revolution, so certainly must it buy its saving from that inevitable catastrophe with a tremendous loss of sympathy. The mass of the lower classes of the poor and oppressed turned away from the great son of the people, whose heart bled over their religious spoiling, but who looked upon all the imperfections and injustice of the "worldly kingdom" only as the deserved divine punishments.<sup>1</sup> Lindsay uses the same adjective as Bax, and concludes that taking into account all extenuating circumstances this second Luther pamphlet 'must ever remain an inefaceable stain' on his life.<sup>2</sup>

Let us stop a minute to look at this thing through Luther's eyes, and in order to abate our indignation a little let us weigh the circumstances.

1. Luther's exhortations to cut down the insurgents were exactly in accordance with the war methods of that time. No quarter was asked or given. The authorities would have done exactly as they did, without Luther's exhortations. Merciful dealing in war was unheard of then, and to have shown forbearance to the rebels would have been unthinkable.

2. Luther had just returned from a visit to the disaffected regions, where at the risk of his life he had done all he could to quiet the rebellious. But all efforts were

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<sup>1</sup> *Gesch. der deutschen Reformation*, Berlin, 1890, 501-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of the Reformation*, Edinb. and N.Y., 1906, 336-7.



in vain. Only one recourse was left, and that was force which God had placed in the hands of the authorities.

3. In Luther's mind the victory of the peasants meant anarchy. Nothing in the history of the movement thus far was calculated to make him feel that the peasants were competent to rule. Their triumph meant the coming of the Last Judgement. We need not wonder, therefore, that with 'Münzer's calls to slaughter in his mind, with all the sights and sounds of destruction in his eyes and ears, while it still hung in the balance whether the insurgent bands might not carry all before them,' he appealed to the princes to use the only means known to put down rebellion once for all.

4. In Luther's mind the divine order was bound up with the rule of the powers that be, and his interpretation of Rom. xii. 4 (he beareth not the sword in vain, for he is a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil) was expressed in the (to us) ferocious exhortations of the second tract. That tract was his commentary on the Bible. The preacher must stand as the interpreter of the Word of God, whether it strikes down princes or peasants. Later he said in his *Table Talk* (if correctly quoted; a part of this passage has been torn from its context and much used by anti-Luther writers): 'Preachers are the greatest killers, for they admonish the authorities of their office, that they should punish the bad rascals. I, Martin Luther, have slain all the insurrectionary peasants. I have killed them. All their blood be upon my neck. But I refer it to our Lord God, who commanded me thus to speak. The devil and the godless people otherwise would also slay, but they have no right. Therefore one should distinguish between private and public persons, for we see that the authorities by right and office can condemn and punish rascals. Christian rulers understand also. But others misuse their office against the gospel, which will not bring them much good luck.'<sup>1</sup> What he means is not that he was responsible

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<sup>1</sup> 59: 284-5.

for the rebellion, but that the peasants being in a murderous insurrection he did what he could to make valid Rom. xiii. 3, to restore order—in this case necessarily with the slaying of the guilty. He is speaking not of unjust punishment, but of public law which must be upheld at all costs. For its being upheld in this case he is willing to take the responsibility. There is not the least doubt of his entire honesty in this. The statement of Bax and others that the danger was nearly overpast when Luther wrote this second pamphlet, and that he knew it, is inconsistent with every line of the pamphlet. Von Ranke well says that it belongs to a forehead weaponed with brass to be always asserting, as Surius and Cochläus, that Luther turned away from the peasants when he saw that they had been defeated. Whether he knew of Truchsess's advantage we do not know, though that was not decisive. The outbreak had only well gotten hold of Thuringia and Saxony when Luther came out against it to his personal danger.<sup>1</sup> Luther felt himself in this pamphlet the minister of God. Of course he wrote with his accustomed vehemence and often extravagance (for he did not have the style of a mathematical professor), but he wrote in absolute sincerity, as under divine compulsion.

It is only with such considerations as these that we can see this matter through Luther's eyes, and do him historic justice. 'The foundation of society with Luther,' says Frank G. Ward, who has given us perhaps our best investigation of this side of his nature and work, 'was always the right of the State authorities to obedience. So long as this remained intact he went with equal hand against the injustices of authorities and subjects. But as there was now threatened a destruction of the whole social fabric, he came out with that first principle and demanded the State to suppress the insurrection—demanded it in a style wrathful and exaggerated. It was not, however, a partisan preference for the princes to the prejudice of the peasants. Rather he directed his view far over any

<sup>1</sup> *Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 7 Aufl., 1894, II, 150, Anm. I.

class to society as a whole. Assertion of the right of the State was for him the only means for saving society.'<sup>1</sup>

And here, I think, a recent historian has done grave injustice to Luther. Professor A. F. Pollard says that Luther 'was not free from the upstart's contempt for the class from which he sprang,' which shows a thorough misunderstanding of Luther. In various passages in his works Luther showed not only sincere sympathy with the poor, but an intelligent appreciation of how they could be helped. Nor is it fair to compare Luther with an upstart. It was common occurrence for men from the peasant class to enter monasteries, and by merit to rise. Luther's rise had been so gradual and natural that there was nothing to call out the feelings of the 'upstart.' Even now he had only moral authority—that of a preacher and teacher. The same false view comes out in Pollard's remark that Luther's 'sympathy with the masses seems to have been limited to those occasions when he saw them useful weapons to hold over the heads of his enemies,'<sup>2</sup> which shows that this able writer has never investigated Luther's attitude in this field. Everywhere Luther is controlled by what he considers biblical ideals, which proclaim peaceful subjection to authority, and which include slavery. But when that subjection is secured, Luther was by no means indifferent to the welfare of the common man.

It is often said that Luther's attitude toward the peasants' uprising, especially as shown in the second pamphlet, lost for him the support of the working class of Germany. There is no doubt some truth in this. Even to-day anti-Christian socialists ring the changes on the 'Steche, schlage, würge' of this pamphlet, and it is a sweet morsel to Catholic controversialists. But two remarks need to be made: (1) Luther was never over anxious for the success of his movement. He had nothing of the spirit of the mere propagandist or conventional

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<sup>1</sup> *Darstellung und Würdigung der Ansichten Luthers vom Staat und seinen wirtschaftlichen Aufgaben*, Jena, 1898, 30-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge Modern Hist.*: II, *The Reformation* (1904), 193.

religious revivalist. A little more of that spirit would not have hurt him. But to fail with God was always more to him than to succeed with the world. For this reason he would have nothing to do with force as a method of conversion. His indifference here was a trial sometimes to his contemporaries. (I speak generally, and shall later consider more fully Luther's attitude in these matters.) (2) If the peasants had succeeded and Luther had not written, there is no evidence that they would have accepted Luther as their leader. There is evidence to the contrary. Their social and religious ideals were not his. He was fundamentally opposed to their programme. Look at the teachings of Münzer, look at the God-city-state of Munster, look at even the Twelve Articles—no, there was nothing there for Luther. One might say that, judging from experiments in government which the peasants established for a time, if they had eventually succeeded all forms of reasoned and reasonable Christianity would have utterly perished in Germany.

Zimmermann makes the point that Luther missed a great opportunity for the political salvation and glory of Germany. If he had carried through his Reformation on all sides, says Zimmermann, if he, the man of the people, had placed himself at their head, as the leader in the movement which was the expression of the thousands of unsettled differences between lords and people which carried everything before it, then the Germans would have become a nation, one in faith and in free civic organization, and the political and religious distraction, dismemberment and weakness, the misery and disgrace of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, all the calamities of the thousand little territorial lordships, would never have happened. The victory of the people's cause, the victory of the Reformation on its political side would have brought indeed the Last Day, but not as Luther feared, but as a new heaven and a new earth to the German nation, a great German popular life.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Grosser deutscher Bauernkrieg*, hsg. v. Blos, Stuttg. 1891, 632.

A fascinating prospect that! Beautiful alternative! If wishes were horses, beggars might ride! But the noble desire of Zimmermann was all too vain. The insurrection had no Napoleon, and in any case Luther was not the man to lead it. For first, he had no organizing talent—he was no Calvin, much less Wesley; and second, his deep cleavage between the secular and the religious, that Christ made the soul, but not the body, free, besides his extreme emphasis on Scripture commands for obedience—this totally unfitted him for leadership in a popular political movement. It would have involved him in profound contradiction. Then the people lacked political experience and knowledge. No doubt Ward is right in saying (p. 31) that the victory of the peasants would have only postponed—not done away—the rule of the classes, for the common people were in no condition to establish political independence.

It is necessary to follow Luther further in order to do complete justice to his attitude to the peasants and their war. Immediately after their overthrow he put out a statement to the effect that he took no pleasure in their misfortune ('for who knows what God has concluded concerning me'), only that he wanted to warn them so that they would not fall under God's wrath. 'Further, I ask the lords two things: first, that they be not lifted up, but fear God, who has so severely punished them; second, that they be gracious to prisoners and those who give themselves up, as God is gracious to every one who humbles himself before Him.'<sup>1</sup>

On Pentecost (June 4) 1525 he defended his book in a sermon, in which he said that rebellion is worse than murder, because it uses the sword against the powers that be. In that case every one is under obligation to defend

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Zimmermann's work appeared in 1840-44, was the first to do justice to the peasants, and caused a sensation. It was forbidden in Baden, Bavaria, and Austria, though received in the Austrian monastic libraries. It was a brilliant performance, but is now superseded. Loesche says (*Theol. Jahresbericht*, 1898, 359) that it can hardly claim to be used in a scientific book.

<sup>1</sup> 65: 12 ff.

his head, the authorities. But he (Luther) plays no dissembler before princes. He has warned them to be fair to their subjects, and if they are not, they have a judge in heaven. Against those clever ones who teach him how he ought to write his last and best means is prayer, as Moses and Aaron prayed and the earth opened up and swallowed their enemies.<sup>1</sup>

But he soon came out with a more formal defence in a pamphlet, *Sendbrief von dem harten Büchlein wider die Bauern*<sup>2</sup> (1525). He says it is idle to reason with an insurgent, who by the very fact of being an insurgent has placed himself under God's wrath. So Saul sinned in not executing Amalek (1 Sam. xxviii. 18), and Paul teaches that he who withstands God's ordinance comes unto judgement. We must distinguish God's kingdom from the kingdom of the world, in which last the rulers must use strictness and not bear the sword in vain. While Christians as members of the heavenly kingdom must be merciful to all, they must not hinder, but rather help the work of the earthly kingdom, as in destroying insurgents. Mercy is out of place to the murderer and destroyer. Besides, peasants are not competent to rule. There is nothing less under discipline (*nichts ungesogeneres*) than the mad crowd and the peasant when he is full and fights. Shall one let such rage bring to destruction the innocent? The rulers should understand what is behind the crowd, and hold them in better order. The ass will have his stripes, and the people will be ruled with force, for thus God has given into the hands of the authorities not a fox-tail but a sword. But this severe dealing is not for the peasants who have given in, but for those who hold out in rebellion. But after the rulers have conquered, then they must show grace not only to the innocent (or those who have been compelled against their will to fight) but also to the guilty. He (Luther) will not be responsible

<sup>1</sup> See Köstlin, *Martin Luther: sein Leben und seine Schriften*, 5 Aufl. v. Kawerau, 1903, I, 715.

<sup>2</sup> 24 : 309 ff. Large extracts in Köstlin, I, 715-717.



for those raging, mad tyrants who after the battle cannot be satisfied with blood. For these his former book was not written. They serve their master, the devil. And when a tyrant like that spake the shameful speech before Münzer's pregnant wife at Mühlhausen—such a man is a wolf, a beast, a swine, not a man. If the proverb is true that when peasants become lords the devil becomes an abbot, so it is also true that when such tyrants become lords the devil's mother becomes an abbess.

This letter shows how hard Father Janssen must have studied Luther's writings, when he says that he could not find in those writings any counsels to mildness in dealing with the peasants.<sup>1</sup> Luther's principle concerning armed rebels was: crush them immediately (that is, if they will not lay down their arms), but spare the innocent if possible, and after the conquest be merciful to both innocent and guilty.

In a letter to Archbishop Albrecht about the same time he also pleads for kindly dealing by the authorities. He says that some deal so cruelly that they awaken the anger of both God and people. It is not good to be a lord to the dislike of the ruled, against the will and friendship of the subjects—there is no stability in that. If people are rebellious, that is one thing, but after they are put down they are another people and are worthy of grace as well as punishment. Moderation is good in everything, and mercy rejoices against judgement (Jas. ii. 13).<sup>2</sup> This was followed next year with a sharp reproof of the knights and the rich, who under pretext that some had been among the insurgents stole their goods and spilt innocent blood. And he distinguishes between insurgents proper and those who went with them against their will or with a good motive.

There is no doubt that the fearful events of 1525-6 left in Luther's mind a permanently dismal impression of the people's competency to rule in Church or State. They

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<sup>1</sup> *An meine Kritiker*, Freib. in B., 1891, 112.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Köstlin, I, 717-8.

shattered his democratic tendencies. 'As trustfully as he had once turned to the people, and had preached to them Christian freedom and universal priesthood, so now strictly and sharply there was united to his doctrine, whose content remained the same, caution and mistrust against "lord everybody" (Herren Omnes), and against every disturbance of external order and discipline. He certainly received enough occasion thereto later. So for the future he grasped thankfully even for ecclesiastical matters the hand of the evangelical secular authorities.'<sup>1</sup> While in 1523 he advised the Bohemians to organize their Church in a more or less democratic fashion, in 1527 he urges Philip of Hesse against the fine scheme of representative church government which Lambert had outlined in the synod of Homberg for the churches of Hesse. The people are too obstinate and ignorant to attend to these matters. But these considerations must not lead us to suppose that the rising of 1525 changed Luther from a democrat to an aristocrat. He was never either the one or the other, but always the *religious reformer*, building on Paul. On his fundamental conceptions of society the war had no influence, though it did lead him to narrow the scope of religious liberty. But the interesting question of Luther's views of toleration cannot be entered into here.

What was the result of the war on the Reformation? Berger remarks that the Reformation more and more loosened itself in the purification struggles of these five years from those powers which had helped it once to victorious advance, narrowed its circle, and lost that enchanting national trait which had so irresistibly carried it forward in its formative years: from an eminently national concern it became territorial, was given up again to the chances of sectional politics and to the Catholic reaction supported by princely absolutism, a reaction which now really took its rise.<sup>2</sup>

J. ALFRED FAULKNER.

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<sup>1</sup> Köstlin, I, 723-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Martin Luther in kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung*, Berlin, 1895, I, 505.

## Notes and Discussions

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### PSYCHOLOGY AND PREACHERS

THE rapidly increasing literature on the relation of psychology to religion suggests the question whether preachers attach sufficient value to this connexion. Psychologists and preachers are more than neighbours; they may be comrades in a common service. Certainly psychology at present carries the honours amongst those studies, not distinctly professional, which contribute greatly to the preacher's success. The interest in psychology is not a 'boom'; it is a new force which has come to stay and to work manifold changes in the interpretation of religious experience. The ideals and methods of the Mental Philosophy of a quarter of a century ago have been forsaken. The study of mind is no longer merely analytical and descriptive; it is experimental and organic. The fact that the new psychology is physiological, based on the correlation between mind and brain, is itself significant of the importance of the change. Spheres of inquiry and knowledge that form the borderland of the preacher's realm are illumined by light radiating from zones of psychological facts and processes. Anthropology, folklore, the rise and growth of myth and magic, comparative ethics, all the phases of mental evolution and of mental pathology, all the circles of suggestive therapeutics in which Christian Science claims her principles for mental healing, and in which the hypnotist and the telepathist seek their justification, as well as the areas given over to the students of 'psychical research' and to others whose interest is in criminology and other abnormal mental phenomena of sociology—all these regard psychological investigation and results as fundamental. Between these and the region of human life in which the preacher finds his particular place the partition is very thin. It has been unable to stand the strain of maintaining a sharp distinction, and has broken down. Psychology has invaded the sphere of religion; and within the

last few years has found itself at home there. It now claims to have natural rights there—to be indispensable indeed for the interpretation of religious experience to our generation. Certain types of the religious mind have been startled; they regard the intrusion as sacrilege; it is the natural presuming in the exclusive domain of the supernatural; religion is a sphere apart—inscrutable, mystical, miraculous, and any interpretation of its presence in terms of psychological phenomena is resented; the alliance is unnatural, and the banns are forbidden in the name of religion. For others, equally reverent and loyal to religious experience as a divine product, a union between these two appears to be irresistible—and let us say, desirable. They suffer no alarm. Religion has observable physical and psychological phenomena which, so far from excluding the spiritual, imply it and reveal it. Religion is more than any classification of its manifestations; it is a life unexplained and unexplainable by its processes. Even if these are shown to be orderly and progressive, expressing themselves in forms of development which may be generalized and scientifically stated in terms of law, this achievement may not be loss to religion, but great gain. Law explains nothing. It only registers observations of spiritual facts for the instruction and satisfaction of the inquirer, and for the guidance of the worker, in the realm of religion.

For the modern preacher the study of psychology is an imperative duty. The most spiritual member of his order has much to learn from it—and probably almost as much to unlearn. It defines and illuminates the processes of conviction, conversion, and sanctification which he aims to stimulate and guide; and even more, it defends these as essential human experiences for which the economy of mental development is prepared and expectant. Psychology is an apologetic for a perpetual insistence upon the preacher's claims. In the ferment of feeling, cognition, and conation, constituting the psychologist's 'states of consciousness,' the preacher can discern the genesis and development of those native energies of love and fear, of wonder and worship, of resolve and recollection with which it is his mission to co-operate. It is the preacher's calling to share the master Spirit's work through such energies that move in human souls; he is God's fellow labourer; for 'all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will.' Psychologically the preacher's education is—

To watch  
The Master work, and catch  
Hints of the proper craft, tricks of the tool's true play,

and so, 'To act to-morrow what he learns to-day.'

It is a great satisfaction to the present-day preacher, though it may also have for him the value of a personal admonition, to notice that those who share his calling to teach the things of God to children are in many instances seeking a psychological equipment as essential to full qualification for their work. We can only refer here to the 'Talks to Teachers on Psychology,' which appear on the programme of every well-organized Sunday-school convention, and to the growing popularity of an opulent and attractive literature on child study, which is mainly psychological in character.

For the preacher himself, who is wishful to pursue psychological study as it deals with religious experience, the opportunities are constantly increasing. It is not yet twenty years since the first shy venture in this direction appeared. Now the ground of direct interest to the preacher and the theologian is being gradually covered by treatises which deal with manifold phases of the psychology of religion. The results are necessarily as yet tentative; and it may be some time still before the products of empirical psychology pass from the stage of suggestion to that of authority; but already they are far from being uninfluential. With some of these books most preachers are familiar, but as others have appeared more recently, a very brief reference to samples of the literature may not be out of place.

Most readers will think first of the works of Prof. William James, of Harvard, probably the most brilliant living writer on psychology. Though he counts himself a psychologist, Prof. James is a true preacher. He has the preacher's instincts, with much of his moral earnestness, and is by no means without his gifts of spiritual insight. The value of his *Principles of Psychology*, and, proportionately, of his smaller *Text-Book of Psychology*, is not simply in the lucid statement they present of the methods and facts of the 'new' psychology—though, by the way, Prof. James demurs to this adjective; they teem with fresh and vivid illustrations of peculiar value for the preacher's art. Naturally his *Varieties of Religious Experience* comes more directly into contact with the problems which are of greatest interest to the preacher; and every preacher will recognize

in his own congregation the 'once-born,' the 'twice-born,' the 'sick soul,' the 'divided self,' with its manifold processes of 'unification,' as vividly as his predecessors recognized the typical characters of Bunyan's immortal allegory. Some preachers date the beginnings of a new conception of their work and its possibilities from their introduction to these interpretations of spiritual consciousness; and James's doctrine of the subliminal consciousness has become to others as an open door of release and confidence by the transition it suggests from the limited and personal in consciousness to that which is limitless and divine. Dr. George Galloway's recent book, *The Principles of Religious Development*, contributes a fine discussion on the place of psychology as the basis of religion, and as necessary to the 'study of the principles which underlie and are disclosed in the process of its development.' Dr. Inge, in *Faith, and its Psychology*, pursues an inquiry of much importance to evangelical preachers by seeking 'to vindicate for religious faith its true dignity as a normal and healthy part of human nature,' and to show by psychological analysis that faith is not the activity of any one faculty, but an expression of the whole man. With Dr. Inge's book the reader will wish to compare Prof. James's *The Will to Believe*, and with both J. B. Pratt's *Psychology of Religious Belief*. To point out how much Dr. Illingworth and other writers owe to psychology in their effort to interpret the divine in terms of human personality, or how Christian apologetics have found a new vitality by appealing to the facts of spiritual experience which psychology has certified and classified for the use of the apologist, would unduly extend this reference. Dr. Sanday, in a recent lecture at the University of Manchester, entitled *A Tentative Modern Christology*, brought before his hearers a fresh and venturesome, if not wholly convincing, argument for making provision on the basis and authority of the subliminal consciousness, as defined by psychologists, for approaching afresh the profound mystery of our Lord's Person. 'As in man the whole Self, conscious, sub-conscious, and infra-conscious, is indefinitely larger than the conscious Self taken alone, so in our Lord the manifested Life was only, as it were, an index to the total Life of which the visible activities were but a relatively small portion.' Preachers will turn eagerly to the volume just published which contains this and several other lectures delivered at Oxford, gathered under the title *Christologies, Ancient and Modern*.



Dr. Sanday's position is certainly significant of the place psychology is taking in theology. But this place is more definitely shown in the theology of experience, which on many sides is creating enthusiasm, and finding disciples who deprecate dogmatic systems. Amiel's dictum, 'What our age specially needs is a translation of Christianity from the domain of history to the domain of psychology,' might supply the ideal of this school. How this principle is applied may be seen in Dr. Percy Gardner's *Exploratio Evangelica* and elsewhere. And this effort to 'transfer the burden of support for Christian doctrine from history to psychology' is too popular and influential to be overlooked by the modern preacher, especially if he be a Methodist, who seeks in experience the ultimate religious certitude. Most preachers feel that the urgent need of the day is a restatement of the doctrine of sin. That this work can never be done without giving heedful attention to the findings of psychology upon the gradual development of the moral consciousness in man is demonstrated by Dr. Tennant in *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*. The psychology of inspiration is also a most interesting phase of the psychology of religion, which Dr. Joyce has discussed at length in *The Inspiration of Prophecy*, lately published. In the April number of the *Interpreter*, a writer returns to a subject which, in the judgement of many scholars, is of great critical and exegetical value—*The Science of Psychology and the Resurrection*. The kindred subject of immortality, which some might suppose could only be hampered, not helped, by the application of the principles of physiological psychology, finds a subtle apologist in Prof. James. In his tiny volume of the Ingersoll Lectures, *Immortality*, he suggests a relief for the haunting doubt of minds to which the materialistic tendencies of medical and scientific studies make a strong appeal, which no preacher ought to neglect. It is only possible, in this short 'note,' barely to refer to the sphere in which the psychologist claims that his science has been most certain and serviceable in its gifts to the preacher. This is in the psychological study of the facts of conversion. The human side of conversion, which, of course, in no sense eliminates, or even depreciates the divine—its relation to the phenomena of adolescence and to the emotional nature of the individual; the physical and mental conditions which precede, accompany, and verify this mysterious change in which every soul-winner is profoundly

interested, and which constitutes the foremost problem of an evangelical ministry—is the sphere in which psychology has already earned the gratitude of the preacher. To be supplied with data, provided not by rough guess-work, but by the laborious methods of scientific observation and skilful classification, known as 'the questionnaire method,' such as Starbuck gives in the elaborate details of his *Psychology of Religion*, is of the greatest value to the preacher and teacher. Other workers, as Prof. Coe in *The Spiritual Life*, and many more, are already beginning the task of co-ordinating these results with the methods and ideals of Christian workers; and the gain in intelligence, precision, and confidence with which the preacher and Sunday-school teacher apply themselves to their high calling must be great, and especially so where spiritual diagnosis, and what we may term clinical work in religion are concerned. And if it is permissible to discriminate in the present value of separate parts of the preacher's work, this is the part of it most urgently in need of cultivation. The vital need of the preacher to-day is to be individual in his dealing with souls. To this phase of the preacher's calling psychology adds the sanctions and sanctity of law—natural, but not less divine.

FREDERIC PLATT.

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### THE POOR LAW COMMISSION REPORTS

LAST Easter the Methodist Union for Social Service held its second Conference on Social Questions at Oxford. The report is to be published very shortly by the Book Room, under the title of *The Social Outlook*. As might have been expected, the chief interest of the Conference centred round the two Reports of the recent Commission on the Poor Law. Mrs. Sidney Webb and the Dean of Norwich (Dr. Russell Wakefield), two of the members of the commission, were present, and gave addresses. The conference further had the advantage of papers read by Mr. Adolphus Ballard, clerk to the guardians of the Oxford Incorporation, and Mr. Bolton Smart, head of the Hollesley Bay Labour Colony. Readers of this REVIEW will remember the article on 'The Poor Law and its Reformation,' by Mr. Ballard, July 1909.

The controversy between the authors of the two Reports of the Commission is dividing the army of social reformers into two opposite camps. Very soon after the publication of these documents, the 'National Committee to promote the Break-up of the Poor Law' was formed to advocate the principles of the Minority Report; it is now proposed to change this rather cumbrous title to 'The National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution.' Three months ago was founded 'The National Poor Law Reform Association,' with Lord George Hamilton (chairman of the Commission) as its president. This body, however, seems more anxious to attack the Minority Report and to defend the working of the present Poor Law, than to advance the claims of the Majority scheme.

Besides these rival organizations there has been, since the appearance of the Reports, a strong feeling in favour of concentration on the recommendations common to both its sections. It found vigorous and early expression, for instance, in Professor Muirhead's *By What Authority?* These recommendations are far from unimportant. They include the complete destruction of the present system of unions, workhouses, and guardians. They make the county council the responsible authority for poor relief. But as soon as we approach constructive reforms, the gulf appears. The two Reports, indeed, embody two quite distinct principles, which are themselves based on two distinct views of human nature.

To the Majority Report, pauperism, if not actually a crime (as it was virtually regarded by the 1834 commissioners) is at least a sign of moral weakness. To apply for relief (and still more to receive it) means that there has been 'a sapping of the spirit of self-maintenance.' No one proposes that even out-relief should be abolished; but all relief must be so administered that as few persons as possible shall apply. Mr. Ballard closed his address at Oxford with the words: 'The chief difficulty is the man who is determined not to work. The chief principle to be enforced is: Make the law a terror to evil-doers. Treat "won't-works" as criminals.' On the other hand, to the Minority, pauperism is primarily a disease. To refuse to grapple with it till the applicant can claim a grudging assistance is as foolish as to neglect an outbreak of scarlet fever until the patients come knocking at the doors of the Poor-Law infirmary. In other words, the ideal of poor relief, like that of the local sanitary authorities, must be prevention

rather than cure. The real question is not how much we are to give, but how we give, and when. The State must set up around the morass of destitution, as it were, a chain of block-houses, in which enough assistance shall be given to make it possible for the individual to work out his salvation. Where the Majority (though with many modifications in detail) cry, 'Frighten away from application,' the Minority reply with, 'Search out those who are in danger of destitution.' The one scheme falls back on fear: the other relies on hope.

The difference between the two views may perhaps best be stated thus: For each report, the ideal is the maintenance of a spirit of independence and self-help. How is this to be secured among the potentially destitute? To the Majority it is an endowment, which, however, may easily be lost; the Minority regard it as a goal, which, with care and wisdom, may be attained. The former would point to the unemployables, and even the unemployed, as clear examples of their thesis; and although they would not apply the generalization to the young or (in every case) to the aged and infirm, they would regard its applicability as the rule and not the exception. The latter really refuse to regard any one as being born either with or without a ready-formed moral backbone. Life is the great school, for good or for evil, and the teacher must think more about securing good results in the future than about flogging for failures in the past.

There is no doubt that the second is the sounder view. Within the limits of a note, it is impossible to work out this thesis. But if psychology teaches anything, it is that the nature of man is plastic. He comes into the world a bundle of possibilities; he never ceases to respond to the treatment he meets with; his actions will be controlled by what he recognizes as his interests; his energy will be proportional to his hopes. Sociology exhibits the same influence of the environment over the individual. Independence may flourish, and duty may be honoured, in every age and clime; but only when the individual knows he has, so to speak, a 'sporting chance.' You cannot expect, as Mr. Sidney Webb has said, to produce saints if they are brought up between the gin-shop and the brothel. To quote the words of Mr. Headley (*Darwinism and Modern Socialism*), 'If a man has hope, he has the best thing in the world; and as far as government intervenes, it should strive to make it possible for every man to improve

his position.' In ethics, freedom is an achievement which man must be called upon to make, rather than a pre-supposition of the moral life with which, in infancy, he may be supposed to start. In the language of the New Testament, we are saved by hope, and the appeal of the gospel has always laid far more stress on the life to be won than the punishment to be dreaded. The real weakness of social reform has been its inadequate view of human nature; its strength will be to remove the causes of stumbling, that every valley may be exalted, and every mountain and hill brought low.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

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### A NEW WAY IN APOLOGETICS

A SIGN of the times in Germany is the establishment in many large towns of 'Evenings for Discussions on Religion' (*Religiöse Diskussionsabende*). The movement has already spread so extensively as to warrant the inclusion of an instructive article on the subject in Dr. Schiele's new Dictionary of Religion (*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*), now in course of publication. The author of the article is Pastor Martin Eger of Chemnitz, the 'Saxon Manchester.' His sympathy with this latest attempt to reach the non-church-going classes is revealed in his interesting sketch of its origin and development. Many intelligent artisans regard ordinary religious services as objectionable; amongst the reasons for their dislike are the following: the sermon is accompanied by prayers and hymn-singing; the phraseology of the liturgy—frequently also that of the sermon—is cast in a dogmatic mould; an entirely passive rôle is assigned to the congregation.

The 'Discussion Evenings' were instituted neither as evangelistic agencies nor as aids to sectarian propagandism. They appeal to the artisan's delight in public discussions on topics of interest, and their success proves that religious questions still hold a foremost place amongst the subjects in which he is keenly interested, although he may be estranged from the Churches. A man of this type refuses invitations to listen to pulpit exhortations; he is not attracted by aesthetic ceremonial. In short, his attitude of mind is such that he

is most likely to be impressed by arguments brought forward in a fair discussion in which difficulties are frankly stated and as frankly faced.

Representatives of many different schools of thought have taken part in these discussions. There is general agreement as to the advantage which has resulted from personal intercourse with opponents as well as with inquirers. Their utterances have afforded glimpses into the popular mind such as can seldom or never be gained by pastoral visitation. Opportunities have been given and have been gladly seized of dealing with questions which cannot be adequately treated in the pulpit. Many prejudices have been removed. The parson has appeared in a new light, as his replies have revealed a man familiar with modern thought, and above all a man who has himself struggled with doubt.

Different methods have been adopted in different towns. Much depends upon the careful study of local conditions and the adaptation thereto of the means employed. In Berlin a direct appeal has been made to the more highly educated. A theological conference has been held monthly, the maximum attendance being reported as six hundred. Scientific and practical as well as definitely religious subjects have been selected. Materialists, Spiritualists, and Buddhists have taken part in the debates. In most towns, however, attention has been especially directed to the working classes. On the principle of going to those who will not come to you, the original plan has been modified in Saxony; deputations have visited meetings of Labour societies, working-men's clubs, &c., whenever suitable subjects have been on the programme.

Pastor Eger's experience enables him to offer wise suggestions for the conduct of 'Discussion Evenings.' The result is, to a large extent, dependent upon the lecturer's treatment of the chosen theme. His positions must be clearly defined; he must keep to the point, and his style should be lucid. But above all he must avoid any parade of learning; there must be no hint that he is talking down to his audience. In the conduct of the ensuing debate there is need of great discretion; full freedom must be allowed, but profitless digressions must be checked. When laymen are prepared to sustain the interest of the discussion, theologians do well to keep in the background. If they intervene, their aim should be not to secure a dialectical triumph, but to direct attention to neglected aspects



of the subject, recognizing such elements of truth as may be found in an opponent's statements. In a word, they should endeavour to build bridges between the two positions and to remove misunderstandings.

In regard to the success of the gatherings, the report is, on the whole, favourable. In some towns the Social Democrats have held aloof as a body, but in other places there has been much to encourage. Even when political motives lead to the issuing of the instruction: 'Avoid divisions—religion does not concern you,' Pastor Eger advises that the work be continued, in the hope that ere long this attitude may be modified. There are always some eager seekers after truth who are more likely to be reached by these methods than by any others. To these the Christian Church must give of her best. If the precious seed be sown, it will bear abundant fruit in the coming years; but the sowers must be content to toil faithfully, leaving the harvest to God.

Convincing proof of the interest aroused in the Berlin series of Discussion Evenings is the recent publication of a volume<sup>1</sup> containing thirty-five outlines, more or less extended, of the lectures delivered at the monthly conferences. The book is edited by Pastor Koehler, and is entitled *Freedom and Certainty in Faith*. In his preface the editor explains that the title expresses the convictions which unite the authors of the several papers. On the one hand, they contend for faith's *certainty*, maintaining that the conclusions of science, in so far as they are firmly established, do not shake their faith in God, the Father of Jesus Christ, who rules the world and orders all things for the good of those who love Him. On the other hand, they contend for faith's *freedom*, maintaining that no dogma, however venerable, is exempt from investigation into its origin and meaning; that the husk of traditional formulae must be stripped from the kernel of truth; and that truth thus ascertained must be restated in modes of expression congenial to the thought-atmosphere of the present age. The difficulty encountered by all who take up this attitude towards faith is to hold the balance even between freedom and certainty. Some of the contributors to this volume succeed in doing so; some

<sup>1</sup> *Frei und Gewiss im Glauben*. Beiträge zur Vertiefung in das Wesen der christlichen Religion. 35 Referate aus der Arbeit der "Religiösen Diskussionsabende." Herausgegeben von Pfarrer F. Koehler. Berlin: Arthur Glaue Verlag. M. 2.

who write on christological themes will compel many of their readers to give an affirmative answer to Dr. Forsyth's question: 'Have we become more liberal than sure?' (*The Cruciality of the Cross*, p. 40). But the consistent aim of all is to help inquirers to rejoice in faith's freedom and to attain faith's certainty.

Under five headings the thirty-five papers are classified. *Introduction to the Study of the Christian Religion* deals with such subjects as 'Evangelical Faith,' 'Faith and Dogma,' 'Use of the Imagination in Religion,' 'Science and Religious Certainty'; some of the *World-View Questions* discussed are 'Pantheism and the Christian Conception of God,' 'Christianity and the Monistic View of the World,' Nietzsche's 'Ethics and the Christian Personality'; the *New Testament* section treats of 'Stories of the Infancy of Jesus,' 'The Christ of the Fourth Gospel,' 'The Resurrection Narratives,' &c.; under *Faith and Morals* 'The Divinity of Christ,' 'The Sacrificial Death of Christ,' 'God's Justice and the Sufferings of the Innocent' are included; the last division, entitled *The Services of the Church and the Modern Mind*, comprises 'Sunday Observance,' 'Can the Church be dispensed with?' 'The Popular Estimate of Baptism,' and similar topics. There are no sensational titles, but the programme is comprehensive and varied. None but earnest seekers after truth would be attracted by such a series of addresses. A report of the discussions would have been intensely interesting; at the time they were probably as illuminating as the lectures themselves. Many of these are, however, most instructive; a brief *résumé* of three of them will serve to show the ability and the thoroughness with which the lecturers handled their respective themes.

Prof. Harnack had a congenial subject in 'Evangelical Theology,' defined as 'the science of the Christian religion,' and understanding by the Christian religion 'a glad appreciation of the gospel and of its revival at the Reformation.' His point of view is that of a liberal, and his positive affirmations are, therefore, all the more significant. Referring to the chief tasks of evangelical theology at the present day, he affirmed that it must preserve its scientific character; no means of investigation should be neglected, and new methods of study, as e.g. psychological and economic, must be welcomed. With those who maintain that evangelical theology is a historical

science Harnack agrees; but he adds that this must not be taken to imply that the last word belongs to the causal theory of history. Historical study can yield only relative values and can formulate only relative or graduated judgements. An endeavour must be made to explain phenomena by their antecedents; so far the principle of causal evolution holds good. But 'personality' is an important factor in all history, and especially in the higher religions does it exert a powerful influence. The historian must recognize that personality is never entirely explicable from its antecedents; therefore it can neither be eliminated nor emptied of significance by pseudo-causal explanations. The relative judgements of history are, at their zenith, transformed by reason and conscience into subjectively-absolute judgements; they win assent through the clearness and force of personal conviction. Harnack leads up to the conclusion that Christianity 'has to do with a unique life'; hence, whilst evangelical theology should compare Christianity with other religions, it should also bear in mind that comparisons may cause confusion. 'The summit of the pyramid is the chief thing, not the base.' Confusion arises when in art, ethics, or religion phenomena are reduced to a dead level.

Three lectures were delivered by Prof. Wobbermin of Breslau. Of most general interest is that entitled 'Albrecht Ritschl and Present-day Theology.' The basis of Ritschl's system was 'the immediate relation of the personal life to the historical gospel of Jesus Christ, to the historical Christian religion, and to the historical Jesus Christ.' Ritschl's *merits* are that he emphasized the independence and unique character of the Christian religion; that in the teaching of the Reformers (*sola fide*) he found the presentation of Christianity most nearly corresponding to the original form of the gospel; and that he endeavoured to provide evangelical theology with a foundation quite independent of systems of speculative philosophy. The *defects* of Ritschl's theology are traced to its onesidedness. In emphasizing the historical revelation of God in Jesus Christ, he neglected to consider the relation of Christianity to other religions. Had he done this, he might have shown that Christianity is the religion of revelation *par excellence*, and that in it the religious consciousness of man finds its highest and its normal expression. The injustice of Ritschl's denunciation of Pietism is acknowledged. Again, whilst Ritschl

established the claim of faith to attain to certainty in a subjective sense, he erred by placing theology in opposition to scientific knowledge, and by insisting that evangelical theology has no interest in problems confronting all who strive to attain to a consistent view of the world. 'The God of Christian faith is the Creator and Ruler of the world. As a science, therefore, theology cannot be indifferent to the difficulties which this statement presents to the mind.' The task of Christian theology is to enunciate and to expound the Christian, which is pre-eminently the religious, view of the world.

Pfarrer Pfennigsdorf's lecture on 'Nietzsche's Ethics and Christian Personality' must have been one of the most effective of the series. It recognizes how much there is in modern conditions of life to predispose men to welcome his protest against the suppression of individuality. But the consequences drawn from Nietzsche's teaching by the majority of his readers are plainly pointed out. The ethics to which he gives poetic expression is pure egoism. 'The mass exists for the sake of the individual, not the individual for the mass.' Three practical consequences are said to follow from Nietzsche's insistence on strength and hardness as the basal virtues: (1) *The glorification of the criminal*. Weakness is despicable. Napoleon and Caesar Borgia represent, from different points of view, his ideal. The evolution of cruelty, lying, and selfishness is the consummation to be expected. When the mask is removed, the morals of the Superman are revealed as the morals of the slave. (2) *The depreciation of woman*. In Nietzsche's earlier writings he refers to woman with respect; but in his later works he speaks of her 'surface' nature, and compares her to a cat and to a cow. His approval of the corporal punishment of woman is held to be 'a disgrace to German literature.' A well-known jurist (Düringer) has said: 'Behind many a divorce suit stands the sinister countenance of Nietzsche.' (3) *The ridiculing of Christianity*. A weak compassion is mistakenly identified with Christian altruism. Nietzsche asserts that Christianity has depreciated what men ought to regard as of the highest moral worth: it has, therefore, been a curse to humanity. Sympathetically referring to Nietzsche's bodily ailments and ultimate insanity, Pfennigsdorf says: 'What was lacking in himself, the poet and philosopher placed in the centre of his system—*power and health*.' Finally, Christianity is shown to be libelled when it is said to lessen the value of life. 'The first

Christians were not slavish souls, but men of might. They counted not their lives dear unto them, in order that they might give to the world blessings which the world could not produce. Christianity does not demand the suppression of life, but only of the lower life, for the sake of the higher life.'

J. G. TASKER.

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### BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

THE simultaneous publication of two massive, comprehensive works by distinguished scholars of substantially the same school on New Testament Theology is a remarkable phenomenon and a striking evidence of the ever-increasing attention given to this subject (*Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, von Dr. Paul Feine, Breslau; same title by Dr. A. Schlatter, Tübingen). In England, including original works and translations, we have Davidson's *Old Testament Theology*, Oehler's and Schultz's ditto (each two volumes), Lindsay Alexander's *Biblical Theology*, Stevens' *New Testament Theology*, Bey-schlag, B. Weiss, Schmid, Reuss. In Germany, Dillmann's *Alt Testamentliche Theologie* is a masterpiece. The two new works are a notable addition to the list. A special feature is that both take into full account the recent researches into the Jewish theology of the New Testament days, the results of which researches are found in such works as Bousset's *Die Religion des Judentums im neutesth. Zeitalter*. The light which is thus cast on the New Testament is very great. The authors are scholars of proved ability and wide reading. Dr. Feine's chief earlier work is his *Jesus Christus und Paulus*, noticed in this REVIEW about six years ago. Dr. Schlatter is a voluminous writer. He is joint editor of a quarterly serial containing essays designed to advance theological study, to which he himself is a frequent contributor, his last subject being 'Biblical Theology and Dogmatics.' Another useful work of his is a New Testament commentary, published in separate parts, written on an unusual plan, and admirably combining the theological and the practical. Instead of verse by verse comment and linguistic explanation, the author reproduces the substance of the inspired teaching in continuous exposition.

Dr. Schlatter has also a large volume on *Faith in the New Testament*. Dr. Feine's present work forms a volume of 714 pages, Schlatter's fills two volumes, each—strange to say—containing 592 pages. The authors, while definitely evangelical, are by no means slaves to the letter, freely admitting such modifications of old views as modern knowledge seems to require. Feine's work again, while like its companion it has little introduction, shows the utmost precision and care in division and arrangement; the plan of Schlatter's work is more simple. The latter is perhaps more original both in thought and style. It may be worth while to illustrate these points.

Dr. Feine's work is in three parts. The first gives the teaching of Jesus according to the Synoptists, and is divided into nine chapters, each one of these being again subdivided into sections. Among the subjects treated of are 'Jesus and the Old Testament,' 'The Kingdom of God,' 'The Atonement,' 'The Ethics of Jesus.' The chapter on the 'Messianic Consciousness of Jesus' is divided into six parts, two of which are divided again. Part II, on the 'Doctrines of Primitive Christianity,' contains three sections, which discuss the leading principles of the Primitive Church, Paul's Theology in thirteen chapters, the theological views of the post-Pauline writings—Hebrews, James, Peter's Epistles, Jude, Mark's and Matthew's Gospels, and Luke's writings. It will be seen that the genuineness of all the New Testament writings is accepted. The third part is an able exposition of St. John's teaching in four chapters under these heads: 'The Apocalypse,' 'The Johannine and the Synoptic Picture of Christ,' 'John and Paul,' 'John and Greek Culture,' 'John's Spiritual Teaching in Detail.' The fourth of these parts discusses at length the points involved in the Logos question. The fact that the Fourth Gospel is influenced by the late date of composition applies in a limited degree also to the Synoptics. This is inevitable, and holds true of all history. If this circumstance vitiates the picture, no history can be trusted. 'John develops further traditions of the Synoptists from the standpoint of knowledge acquired at a later period.' It would be hard to find a better discussion of the contrast and yet essential identity of the Synoptic and the Johannine Christ, and so again of the difference between John and Paul. As to the first, the author is not afraid of stating the difference in all its strength. We



begin to ask whether the two can be reconciled. 'The proper conclusion of the Gospel xx. 30 f. shows that the historic is outweighed by the dogmatic interest. In these verses it is said first, that this writing has a religious purpose, namely, to produce faith, but a definite faith; that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. It follows that John spoke of signs from which this divine power of Jesus shines. Jesus' acts, including His death and resurrection, must be judged by their content, and this proclaims Jesus as the Son of God, the Giver of life. But this is a dogmatic, not a historic point of view. Next, it is expressly said that the evangelist has given only a small portion of the gospel material known to him, namely, that in which the didactic point of view which he takes is most clearly seen.'

Of Dr. Schlatter's work the first volume is devoted to the teaching of Jesus in connexion with the history, the second to that of the Apostles. The two volumes contain enough matter for the study of a lifetime. The Synoptic and the Johannine presentations are not treated in separate sections, but are distinguished in the course of the discussion. The twelve chapters into which the first volume is divided cover the whole ground and display a wonderful amount of originality and suggestiveness. Current negations are quietly met by exposition of the positive content. We are reminded that both the sharp separation and the close combination of the two presentations open the way to error. The use of Matthew and John together makes the understanding of Matthew difficult, while the limitation of the sources employed imperils the historic interpretation. 'The less the witnesses admitted say, the broader and bolder conjecture becomes, and the fancy of the historians makes up for the silence of the witnesses.' While the object of biblical theology is to go back to the original facts, their original meaning to the narrators is part of the fact. 'The Easter history,' not 'the Easter faith,' also is significant. So again, 'The inseparableness of Miracle from the Christian Preaching. The Attempt to explain the Miraculous Narrative without the Miracle.' Not the least valuable feature of the volume is the way in which the harmony between the Synoptists and John on the several topics is discussed, such as the office of the Holy Spirit and of Faith. Sections on the prayers and temptation of Jesus are full of edifying thought.

As the second volume deals with the teaching of the

Apostles, it is less simple and homogeneous than the first one. The author brings out the variety and richness as well as the substantial harmony of the teaching in the most impressive way. The volume has four divisions: (1) 'The Doctrinal Positions held by the Companions of Jesus,' five sections; (2) 'The Teaching of Paul,' five sections; (3) 'The Helpers of the Apostles'; (4) 'The Main Doctrinal Ideas in the Church.' The companions of Jesus are Matthew, James, Jude, John, Peter. The analysis of the teaching of each one is very masterly. The study of John in the Apocalypse, the First Epistle, and the Gospel is particularly fresh and striking. The common matter in John and Paul, and John's independent teaching are well developed. Only the First Epistle of Peter is regarded as the apostle's: the second one is summarized as the work of a Christian writing in the apostle's name. The seeming variance between James and Paul is discussed. The exposition of Paul's theology in five sections includes: 'The Task assigned to Paul as Apostle, as Thinker, as Teacher respecting men, in conflict with Jews and Greeks'; 'The Gift of Christ in Justification, Deliverance from the Law, Atonement, Sanctification, Calling, Election'; 'The Presence of God in Christ'; 'The Church'; 'The Conditions of the Pauline Theology.' Dr. Schlatter recognizes in Luke's writings the work of another narrator which Luke uses. The Paulinism of Luke is fully expounded. The writer of the Hebrews is one of the 'Helpers' of the Apostles. The Epistle of Jude introduces the Gnostic danger and the religious possession of the Church. The final section expounds with great fullness the main Doctrinal Ideas ruling in the Church: God the Creator of the World, The God of Jesus, God the Giver of the Spirit, God the Creator of the Church. The thoughts emerging in the second idea are Christ's unity with God, the non-mythical character of the earliest Christology, and the homogeneousness of that Christology. In solidity of matter and clear, vigorous exposition it would be hard to find a superior work in modern days. It is a New Testament library in itself.

J. S. BANKS.

## Recent Literature

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### BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

*The Old Egyptian Faith.* By Edouard Naville. Translated by Colin Campbell. (Williams & Norgate. 4s. 6d. net.)

In the overflow of books about Egypt, more or less well informed, a new volume from the veteran worker and teacher Dr. E. Naville is always welcome. Comparatively few have been able to enter so deeply and sympathetically into the thought and manner of life of the ancient inhabitants of the Nile valley, and to interpret these not inadequately to modern students of the past, from whose prepossessions and environment their standpoint is so far removed. His latest book will reinforce the lesson which has been impressing itself for many years on readers of Egyptian history of the rich variety and vigour of the national life that flourished for long ages in the Nile valley, and of the immense influence it exerted on surrounding peoples. *The Old Egyptian Faith* is an English translation of a series of Lectures delivered by Dr. Naville five years ago at the Collège de France, which were designed to afford a popular account, comprehensible and interesting to all, of the religious beliefs of the people who have bequeathed to the modern world so rich a legacy of wisdom and art. A mere enumeration in brief of the subject matter of the six chapters contained in his book would suffice to show how great is the variety of themes which the author endeavours to expound.

Beginning with a chapter on 'Origins,' Dr. Naville discusses the character and beliefs of the prehistoric peoples who dwelt in Egypt, and the nature of their civilization. They were Libyan in origin, allied to the modern Berbers and Kabyles; in belief totemistic; acquainted with agriculture and fishing, but not a pastoral folk. They were known as *Anu*, whence was derived the name of the town of An or On (the Greek Heliopolis) in the Delta, the ancient sacred centre of the solar cult. The translator uniformly retains the French forms of

the proper names Anou, Pount, &c., for what reason is not obvious. It is pleasant to note that Dr. Naville rejects the charge of cannibalism so lightly brought against the early inhabitants of Egypt by Flinders Petrie on the ground of their methods of burial. These were very various, and probably different usages were characteristic of different tribes. Of some of the customs connected with the disposal of the dead the significance and intention are by no means clear. What is known as the 'contracted' posture in the grave, however, of which Dr. Naville gives a complete account, seems to have been imposed by the survivors in order to confine the spirit and prevent it from wandering, as is done by some Polynesian tribes at the present day.<sup>1</sup> The author does not believe, moreover, that the so-called 'Royal Tombs' at Abydos, discovered and excavated by Dr. Petrie, were really tombs, and prefers to call them 'funerary chapels.' The historic civilization, of which they illustrate the beginning, he regards with most scholars as ultimately of Arabian origin; and maintains that the resemblances between the customs and beliefs of Egypt and those of Babylonia are to be explained, not by direct derivation on either side, but by a common parentage in the great peninsula lying between them.

In the following chapters the doctrines and myths that were taught in Egypt, and found expression in its very varied cults, are passed in review. Dr. Naville never fails to be interesting, and where he expresses dissent from the ordinary view, is able to present strong arguments in support of his own judgement. Almost every phase of thought and belief that has ever occupied the human mind may claim to have a place in the strange and picturesque mosaic that constitutes Egyptian religion; but the leading ideas, that had the strongest and most enduring hold on the faith of the people, were the worship of the sun and the ritual of the dead. Ra and Osiris therefore of necessity fill the largest place in Dr. Naville's pages. And the student who wishes to obtain in brief compass a general survey of Egyptian belief on these important topics can hardly do better than take Dr. Naville as his guide.

It may be noted in passing that the familiar 'Book of the Dead' becomes in the author's rendering, 'The Book of the coming out from the Day,' i.e. from the transient and imper-

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, p. 96, quoting from L. Fison in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x, pp. 145, 147.

manent life of this world, conceived as a day whose sun rises and swiftly sets, to a better and more enduring existence in another world. The former name was given by Dr. Lepsius—*Todtenbuch*—and is perhaps too generally known and accepted to be changed. It suggests little, however, of the contents of the book itself—a miscellaneous collection of charms, magical incantations, formulas of adjuration, spells, and confessions, without beginning, middle, or end, often in the highest degree obscure, and in parts of great antiquity. Almost the only link between the several chapters, which alone, perhaps, entitles the whole to be called a book, is that all were intended for the use of the deceased in his passage through the underworld.

Dr. Naville cites also the Egyptian myth of the destruction of the world of mankind, owing to the wrath of the sun-god at the blasphemy which men do utter against him; and refers to a rare and obscure account of a deluge, which, if the interpretation can be relied on, presents considerable analogies to the biblical narrative.<sup>1</sup> The book closes with the quotation of the eloquent and pathetic lament of an Egyptian writer of the early centuries of our era over the decadence of the ancient religion of his land. The text is too long to be repeated in full here:—

'A time will come when it will seem as if the Egyptians had all in vain fulfilled the worship of the gods with so much piety, and as if all their holy invocations had been barren and unheard. The divinity will abandon the earth, and will ascend again to the heavens, utterly forsaking Egypt his ancient abode, and leaving her widowed of religion, bereft of the presence of the gods . . . Then this land, made sacred by so many shrines and temples, will be covered with tombs and the dead. O Egypt! Egypt! there will remain to thee nothing of thy religions but vague tales which after ages will not believe; nothing but words graven on stone, telling of thy piety . . . The Divine One will ascend to the heavens again, and humanity abandoned will die completely out, and Egypt will be a desert, and widowed of men and gods.'

The similar prophecy of the Buddha of the final disappearance of the religion which he had founded will be recalled by many.

The value of Dr. Naville's book is much enhanced by the very beautiful photographic illustrations, which, with the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the fuller account, with translations of the texts, which the author gave some years ago in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. XXVI (1904), pp. 251 ff., 287 ff.

exception of the frontispiece representing a scene in the Judgement Hall of Osiris, are all from photographs taken by the translator.

*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis.* By John Skinner, M.A., D.D., Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge. (T. & T. Clark. 12s. 6d.)

The new volume in 'The International Critical Commentary' is worthy of a place by the side of Dr. Driver's *Deuteronomy*. The same plan is followed in regard to the arrangement of footnotes; but the two books resemble each other also in their breadth of outlook, in their frank facing of difficult questions, and in their reverent and scholarly treatment of critical problems.

Dr. Skinner gives little space to the discussion of 'the compatibility of the earlier chapters with the conclusions of modern science'; this may be a surprise to some of his readers, but he is doubtless right in regarding this controversy as dead. A more living issue is raised by 'the recent reaction against the critical analysis of the Pentateuch'; considerable attention is therefore given to what may be called more conservative views, Dr. Skinner avowing that his six years' study has confirmed his own belief in 'the essential soundness of the prevalent hypothesis.'

At considerable length the question of the historical value of the narratives is examined. It is shown that, although Genesis is not 'literal history,' a tradition 'mainly legendary may yield solid historical results.' A probable criticism by Assyriologists is that Dr. Skinner is in some danger of underestimating the argument for the essential historicity of the patriarchal tradition that is based upon the evidence of recent discoveries. But it is clear that Dr. Skinner is quite willing to be convinced. This appears from his comment on the story of Abraham: 'We may venture, in spite of the lack of decisive evidence, to regard him as an historic personage, however dim the surroundings of his life may be.' Again he writes: 'Nothing forbids us to see in Abraham the first of that long series of prophets through whom God has communicated to mankind a saving knowledge of Himself.'

Dr. Skinner's treatment of the narrative of the Fall may fitly be selected as a specimen of his methods and results. Ethnic parallels are noted, especially Babylonian affinities.



The story is held to be of non-Israelitish origin, and to have a mythological background. But 'out of such crude and seemingly unpromising material the religion of revelation has fashioned the immortal allegory.' The author 'does not speculate on the ultimate origin of evil; it was enough for his purpose to have so analysed the process of temptation that the beginning of sin could be assigned to a source which is neither in the nature of man nor in God.' Moreover, the God of Genesis iii is 'no arbitrary heathen deity'; there is 'a real *Protevangeliū*' in the passage: 'the fact that God tempers judgement with mercy; the fact that man, though he has forfeited innocence and happiness, is not cut off from fellowship with his Creator.'

In the section which deals with the final redaction of the book, Dr. Skinner ascribes the preservation of its 'most precious and edifying parts' to the religious feeling of post-Exilic Judaism. Deeper influences than the legalism and institutionalism of the Priestly School were at work in the community: 'the individualism of Jeremiah, the universalism of the second Isaiah, the devotion and lyric fervour of the psalmists, and the daring reflexion of the writer of Job. And to these we may surely add the vein of childlike piety which turned aside from the abstractions and formulas of the priestly document to find its nutriment in the immortal stories through which God spoke to the heart then, as He speaks to ours to-day.'

*Folk-Lore of the Holy Land: Moslem, Christian, and Jewish.* By J. E. Hanauer. Edited by Marmaduke Pickthall. (Duckworth & Co. 5s. net.)

'We are glad to have a cheap and attractive issue of this notable book. The fellahin of Palestine have countless stories of Old Testament times vivified by the addition 'of naïve conjectures, points of private humour, and realistic touches from the present-day life of the country, which shock the pompous listener as absurd anachronisms.' Of our Lord and His apostles there are sheaves of legends. The Muhammedan has a great reverence for Christ, though he denies His divinity. Mr. Hanauer has drawn his stores from the hill country between Bethel and Hebron, and it is 'but a pailful from the sea compared with the floating mass of folk-lore which exists in Palestine.' The work is divided into three

sections, dealing with the Creation and divers saints and miracles; legends and anecdotes possibly founded on fact; stories and anecdotes illustrating social ideas, superstitions, &c. It is the easiest of reading. The legends about Azrael, the angel of death, are grim and powerful. Many a fine lesson is taught as to the power of prayer and the protection which Allah grants to those who put themselves each day under 'the name.' The way in which some of the rabbis detected thieves is almost worthy of Sherlock Holmes, and there are many amusing sidelights on Eastern customs. The book is really entertaining, and it is well supplied with instructive notes. No one who wishes to understand the East can afford to overlook it.

*Studies in Galilee.* By Ernest W. G. Masterman, M.D.  
(Chicago University Press. \$1.)

Dr. Masterman has lived and worked in Galilee, and has been welcomed into intimate relations with its people. He has studied the customs and the folk-lore for sixteen or seventeen years, and Principal G. A. Smith strongly commends his work. He describes the physical features, the inland fisheries, Gennesaret, Capernaum, Chorazin, and Bethsaida, the ancient synagogues, Galilee in the time of Christ. The data for the various sites which he presents will be valued by students of the Gospel topography, but the charm and value of the book lie in the fact that it is the work of one who knows Galilee so intimately and helps us to see it as Christ and His apostles saw it. We can strongly commend the book to all Bible students.

*The Quest of the Historical Jesus. A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede.* By Albert Schweitzer. Translated by W. Montgomery, B.A., B.D. (A. & C. Black. 10s. 6d. net.)

Prof. Burkitt says in a preface to this translation that Dr. Schweitzer sets before us as no other writer has done, 'the history of the struggle which the best-equipped intellects of the modern world have gone through in endeavouring to realize for themselves the historical personality of our Lord.' From Reimarus, who died in 1768, to Schweitzer himself, we have a succession of students labouring with absolute fearlessness to pluck the heart out of the mystery of the Gospels. The author of this volume regards such critical investigation of the life of

Jesus as the greatest achievement of German theology. Fragments only of Reimarus's work have been published. He held that the Crucifixion shattered the hopes of the disciples in the Messiahship of their Master, but that they recovered by falling back on the idea of His second coming. To support this spiritual interpretation of His death they invented the Resurrection. Reimarus sustains this extraordinary theory by asserting that Jesus had never said a word to His disciples about His dying and rising again. 'The three or four sayings referring to these events must therefore have been put into His mouth later, in order to make it appear that He had foreseen these events in His original plan.' Any theory can, of course, be made plausible if such methods are allowed. Dr. Schweitzer traces with learning and discrimination the long succession of students and critics till he reaches his own conclusion that 'the Jesus of Nazareth who came forward publicly as the Messiah, who preached the ethic of the kingdom of God, who founded the kingdom of heaven upon earth, and died to give His work its final consecration, never had any existence. He is a figure designed by rationalism, endowed with life by liberalism, and clothed by modern theology in a modern garb.' He maintains that His Messianic secret was wrung from Jesus by Peter, who 'betrayed' to the Twelve their Master's consciousness of His Messiahship at Caesarea Philippi. He thinks that Judas Iscariot sold that secret—not the mere place in which Jesus might be seized—to the High-priest. Dr. Schweitzer holds that the solid foundation of Christianity which can neither be shaken nor confirmed by any historical discovery is that 'a mighty spiritual force streams forth from Him and flows through our time also.' Historical knowledge cannot call spiritual life into existence. Jesus comes to us saying, 'Follow thou Me!' He sets us our tasks, 'He commands. And to those who obey Him, whether they be wise or simple, He will reveal Himself in the toils, the conflicts, the sufferings which they shall pass through in His fellowship, and, as an ineffable mystery, they shall learn in their own experience who He is.' The conclusion expressed in those closing words of this volume is one which we heartily accept, but we hold that it has no validity if Dr. Schweitzer's argument is accepted. It is only reached when we believe in the Christ of the Gospels and of history as the Son of God revealed in flesh to teach and save the world.

*Christologies Ancient and Modern.* By William Sanday, D.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 6s. net.)

This is the last of the preliminary studies which Prof. Sanday has undertaken preparatory to the writing of a *Life of Christ*. His object is to bring out the leading principles on which his work is to be done. He looks criticism fairly in the face, but finally works round nearly to the position occupied by the ancient creeds. The mistake of the past has been to think too much of the Human and the Divine as in contrast and opposition to each other; to dilute our conception of the one in order to make room for the other. 'Our real duty and our real policy is to emphasize fearlessly both sides at once; our Lord Jesus Christ is at one and the same time truly human and divine.' That is the position reached in this volume. Its value lies in the careful consideration of successive stages of thought as to the person of Christ, from the first definite attempt to realize this by the Docetists, down to the appearance of *Jesus or Christ?* (the *Hibbert Journal Supplement* for 1909). Students will feel that they are allowed to trace each stage of theological thought on this central doctrine of Christianity under the guidance of a master. Dr. Sanday is almost too quick to see the better side of heretics and to find out the truth which they sought to grasp, but that really adds to the value of his book. In later times we have two distinct types of Christology—the 'fuller type,' which is really the present-day expression of traditional Christianity; and the 'reduced type,' which might be considered a product of Modernism. The chief works on the subject are carefully reviewed, and an attempt is made to picture the working of our Lord's consciousness, which theologians will eagerly discuss.

*Christ and Civilization.* Edited by Rev. J. B. Paton, D.D., Sir Percy W. Bunting, M.A., Rev. A. E. Garvie, D.D. (National Council of Evangelical Free Churches. 10s. 6d. net.)

The subject of this book is one of vital importance to the Christian Church, and the names of editors and writers are a guarantee for the breadth and thoroughness with which it is discussed. Dr. Lidgett says in the introductory chapter that the aim of the volume, though primarily historical, is, above all, practical. 'It sets forth the nature and growth of great

social ideals which were fulfilled in Christ, and thereby for ever included both in the content of His religion and in the commission of His Church. It traces the working of these ideals and the way they passed from being merely the spiritual heritage of the Church into motive forces playing a great part in moulding and transforming Western civilization.' The past is studied with a view to discover what forces the religion of Christ can bring to bear upon the Social Problem of to-day; and all this is done under the constraining conviction that a remedy can be applied to the evils of the time if only the Church is prompted by its growing social sympathy to make due sacrifices for the removal of these evils.

Prof. Bennett traces the growth of the Social Ideal in Israel through five stages, and shows that failure to secure social righteousness means the ruin of Christian civilization. Our spiritual resources are, however, greater than those of ancient Israel, and our hope is in the Spirit of Christ, which makes for righteousness even more powerfully than the ministry of the Hebrew prophets. Dr. Garvie sets forth 'The Christian Ideal revealed in Jesus.' In Him also it is realized. Grateful love to God is the root of the human sympathy, service, and sacrifice for others which lead to the holy brotherhood of mankind. We now reach the historical survey. Mr. Angus brings out the preparation for the Christian Ideal in the Graeco-Roman world; Dr. Vernon Bartlet makes it clear that the Primitive Church so set forth the ideal that Constantine recognized in it the one possible basis of his empire both morally and socially. Dr. Orr argues that the Church won its way because it met the deeper necessity of the age and that what we need to-day is not a new gospel, but a gospel better understood. Dr. Scullard traces the influence of the Christian Church upon the Roman Empire in the realm of ideas and in the sphere of conduct. Dr. Workman's subject is 'The Influence of the Christian Church on the Social and Ethical Development of the Middle Ages.' With his usual learning and insight he examines the social work of the Church and estimates the part played by the Papacy, by monasticism, and by the reform movements of the later Middle Ages. Despite grievous defects, 'the Mediaeval Church presents a noble spectacle of moral grandeur, and of true work done for humanity.' Prof. H. T. Andrews reviews the Reformation period, with special reference to Luther and Calvin. Prof. Hall, of Union Theological Seminary, regards

the Evangelical Revival as a second Reformation, and connects the tremendous ethical revival of our day with it and its manifold philosophy. Dr. J. H. Rose contributes a fine chapter on 'Christianity and the French Revolution'; Dr. J. S. Dennis is at home in his treatment of 'The Social Influence of Christianity as illustrated by Modern Foreign Missions'; Prof. Henry Jones closes the volume with a chapter on 'Modern Scientific and Philosophical Thought Regarding Human Society.' The volume is one that every student of social reform will find illuminating and stimulating. The writers are experts, and every chapter is full of living interest.

*Revelation and Inspiration.* By James Orr, M.A., D.D.  
(Duckworth & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Along with the want of agreement in the Church respecting the nature of the inspiration of Scripture there is equally general agreement respecting the fact. The breakdown of old theories of verbal inspiration, of which we hear so much, is evidence of the former; the necessity of some form of revelation to explain the contents of Scripture, asserted even by extreme critics, is evidence of the latter position. Dr. Orr's small volume gives a comprehensive survey of the whole field. The different schools of opinion, the need of special revelation, the fact of ethnic revelation to a limited extent, the forms and proof of special revelation, the limitations of inspiration in the record, are all clearly indicated and discussed. The concessions made on the positive side and the admissions of the opposite school bring the two parties within speaking distance of each other. When the question bears on the discrimination of the divine and human elements in divine communications, definition is difficult, and rigid definition impossible. Dr. Orr's exposition of inspiration in Chapters VIII and IX would command wide consent. The positive affirmations are considerably qualified, while the claims of Scripture itself are reasonably maintained. The difficulties on the subject closely resemble the difficulties in regard to the Incarnation, and are to be treated in a similar way. Dr. Seeberg's booklet on the same subject in Harper's Library should be compared with the present one.

*The Christian Conscience.* By Rev. W. T. Davison, M.A., D.D. (Culley. 1s. net.)

This fine and real 'contribution to Christian ethics' has by no means become either obsolete or obsolescent during the



two-and-twenty years since it appeared as the Fernley Lecture of 1888. If anything, it has gained in 'actuality' and opportuneness, dealing as it does, though incidentally, with two of the main preoccupations of our present intellectual life, 'Modernism' and Socialism, and, in spite of such works as those by Newman Smyth, Jacobi, and Von Haering, still filling a gap in our theological and ethical literature, and meeting a popular need. The chapters on 'The Natural Conscience' might possibly have been brought a little closer up to date; but the rest of the monograph, particularly the chapters on 'The Conscience and Christian Truth' and 'The Training of the Christian Conscience,' are not only abreast of the times, but of permanent importance and worth. The treatment of the subject throughout is luminous, scholarly, masterly; in the best sense, also, the work is popular, and may be read with interest and profit alike for its careful thought and argument, its moral and religious nutriment, and its rare literary charm. We are delighted that this Methodist classic has been brought within the reach of all, and trust that cheap editions of some other Fernleys (for instance, Dr. Pope's) may follow in its train.

*Existence After Death Implied by Science.* By Jasper B. Hunt, M.A., B.D. (Allenson. 5s. net.)

When an author finds it difficult to describe the purpose of his book, a reviewer must needs be in the same position. The preface assures us that the subject is not philosophy, or metaphysics, or natural science, or scarcely theology. Certainly it is not science, as the title suggests. There is an entire absence of the sequence and appeal to facts which science implies. The argument, if that is the right word, is based partly on presentiment, fulfilment of strange dreams, remarkable coincidences, and the like. The seven chapters are answers to seven questions such as, *Is the Belief Unavoidable? Have we a Spiritual Destiny? Are we Mere Animals?* The contents of the chapters are discursive remarks with little connexion. At the same time ingenious turns of thought and telling aphorisms are not wanting. 'In the following pages believers in personal extinction are called *Thanatists*, and believers in personal survival *Athanatists*.' 'In order to be a thanatist one must be an atheist. But one can be an atheist and still lack the assurance of our mortality.' The work of the publishers and printers is excellently done.

*Holiness, Symbolic and Real. A Bible Study.* By J. Agar Beet, D.D. (Culley. 1s. 6d. net.)

This is a republication in enlarged form of a study published in 1880, falling into two sections—a careful exposition of Old and New Testament teaching in its different stages, and a similar exposition of Methodist teaching on the subject and its relation to other writers. The essence of the doctrine is found in complete devotion of heart and life to God, which again finds expression in perfect love. The identity of holiness in God and man, the source of all holiness in God, faith as the condition in man, the equivalence of maturity and perfection, are points clearly brought out. We can only wish that the substance of the work in expanded form were reproduced in all Christian pulpits.

In the 'Century Bible Handbooks,' edited by Dr. W. F. Adeney, the new volume is *The Books of the Old Testament*, by Rev. Owen C. Whitehouse, M.A., D.D. (T. C. & E. C. Jack. 6d. net.) Fullness of knowledge and a lucid style enable Dr. Whitehouse to compress into this scholarly little book an account of the library known as the Old Testament. The conclusions of the Higher Criticism are regarded as having demonstrated 'the general composite character of many of the books.'

*A Manual for Local Preachers.* By Rev. J. A. Clapperton, M.A. (Culley. 1s. 6d.)

Excellent in aim and execution. Exactly what a young lay preacher needs to guide and help him in his work. The examinations he will have to pass, the best books for him to read in the preparation of his sermons, the best methods of sermonizing and preaching—these and other cognate matters are plainly and simply described and illustrated. The book is full of practical advice and inspiring considerations. The least satisfactory part is the curious appendix of 'Books in General Literature to begin with.'

*Christianity and Woman.* By Rev. J. E. Gun, A.K.C. (Culley. 6d. net.)

This is an admirable reply to recent sceptical assertions, and especially to the attacks of Mr. McCabe in his *Religion of Woman*, and of 'Philip Vivian' in his *Churches and Modern*

*Thought.* The author is lecturer for the Christian Evidence Society, and deals with his subject with knowledge and skill. Dr. Ballard writes an appreciative Introduction to this most timely booklet, and we predict for it a hearty welcome and a speedy popularity. Before preparing another edition, Mr. Gun might with advantage consult the passages relevant to his subject in Dr. Dill's great work on *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*.

Messrs. Mowbray have reprinted Bishop King's *Meditations on the Last Seven Words* (6d. net, paper cover). They are tender and homely, yet full of insight into the mind of Christ and powerful in their appeals to the heart and conscience. Such a book is a revelation of the writer's own saintliness.

Canon J. M. Wilson of Worcester gave *Four Lectures to Men on the Old Testament* (S.P.C.K., 6d.) which many will be glad to read. They show that the Old Testament has a unique power of making us feel, judge, believe, and act as in the presence of the Eternal. Christian faith, he holds, has really gained much from the recent studies of the Old Testament. The little book will be a real help to faith in the Bible.

A memorial edition of the works of that great scholar the Rev. N. Dimock, M.A., is being issued by his friends and disciples. (Longmans. 1s. 6d. net each vol.) The Bishop of Durham says, 'In him the grace of God combined in perfect harmony a noble force and range of mental power, an unshaken fidelity to conscience and revelation, and a spirit beautiful with humility, peace, and love.' One volume deals with *The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper*. 'The Real Presence of Church of England divines is presence only to faith.' In his *Christian Unity* Mr. Dimock holds that we are 'not warranted in regarding a connected chain of unbroken episcopal succession (in the strictest sense of the words) as essential to the *esse* of a Christian Church.' It is a truly catholic discussion of a subject of ever-growing importance. *Our One Priest on High* utterly disclaims and denies that the sacerdotium of Christ involves any continuation or iteration of sacrifice or oblation. It is a noble exposition of the true priesthood based on Heb. viii. 3 and ix. 7.

*Isaiah i-xxxix.* Edited by the Rev. C. H. Thompson, M.A., and the Rev. John Skinner, D.D. (Cambridge University

Press. 1s. 6d. net.) The aim of this commentary is to explain the Revised Version for young students, giving the results of the best scholarship in a simple form. The Introduction is very full, and the notes always help to bring out the meaning of the text. It is an admirable little commentary.

*The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians.* Edited by A. Lukyn Williams, B.D. With Introduction and Notes. (Cambridge University Press.)

Mr. Williams finds himself unable to accept the theory presented by Sir W. Ramsay that this letter was written to the churches in South Galatia. He maintains the older opinion that it was written to the churches of Northern Galatia between the dates of the writing of Second Corinthians and before the Epistle to the Romans. The whole question is discussed at length. The notes are full and really helpful. Teachers and students will find the little volume of the greatest value.

*The New Creation*, by Mary Higgs (H. R. Allenson, 2s. 6d. net), is the work of a Christian mystic who sees Christ shaping human life and transforming His world into His own image. The note is somewhat too high pitched, but there is great fervour and devotion in the book, and it will stir some answering emotion in readers of kindred spirit.

*The Next Life: Light on the Worlds Beyond.* By the Rev. J. Reid Howatt. (R.T.S. 2s. net.) Mr. Howatt discusses some difficult questions in a way that will strengthen the faith of mourners. We cannot say that he is able to throw much light on the worlds beyond, and his statements do not always carry conviction, but all is devout and helpful.

*Victoria Hall Addresses.* By Heyman Wreford. (T. Weston. 1s. 6d. net.) These addresses are full of zeal, but somewhat too severe and outspoken for our taste.

## HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVEL

*Marcus Aurelius and the Later Stoics.* By F. W. Bussell, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 3s.)

THE Vice-Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, has added a most serviceable contribution to this valuable series of studies in religious philosophy. It is a well-digested and admirably arranged discussion of the philosophy and morals of a school of religious thinkers which has approximated most closely in the pagan world to the finer ethical moods of the modern mind. The most distinctive and suggestive characteristics of Dr. Bussell's treatment are to be found in the admirable historical and intellectual setting he provides in the conditions and tendencies of the Empire, for the life and teaching of the great Roman Stoics, Seneca, Epictetus, and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. The introductory part of the volume, which discusses the place of 'the wise man' and the development of his philosophy within the movements of the imperial system, quickens the general reader's interest in the analysis of the speculative philosophy of the school which follows, and makes its interpretation an easier task. The credential that the interpreter of an ancient philosophy to the modern mind should also be an historian of the period is amply sustained; and in addition to this Dr. Bussell is constantly alert to the correspondences of the tenets and tendencies of the later Stoic thought with its typical reappearances in doctrines of present-day thinkers. The other characteristic to which attention should be called is the continuity of the effort to detect and determine the prevailing inconsistency between the speculative thought and the practical and personal ethics of these three great moralists. This change of emphasis from the academic to the practical, which marked the transference of the teaching of the 'disciples of the Porch' from the Greek to the Roman world, is never overlooked. Marcus Aurelius, 'most unselfish of men,' 'attracts us by his earnest inconsistency.' It is sufficient apology for 'a fresh volume on Marcus Aurelius which may well seem superfluous' that Dr. Bussell indicates the purpose of his

book, 'not so much to seize the salient axioms and obvious syllogisms which are taken for granted in every criticism of the Emperor's faith or character, as to show the lurking antinomies, doubts, anxieties which lay beneath this stern postulate of Monism; to disclose the inner conflict between these two ultimate and irreconcilable rivals—Science and Faith.' The bulk of the volume is divided between the teaching of Epictetus and its results in the creed and character of Aurelius. A capital analysis precedes each section of detailed discussion. Abundant quotations from the original sources are given in Latin and Greek. It would have made the book more acceptable to the general reader if these could have been translated in the case of Epictetus, as the quotations from Aurelius have been presented in Dr. Rendall's fine rendering. The style is vigorous and brightened by epigrammatic sentences. The scholarship of the author and his authority are evident throughout the exposition.

*The Life and Times of Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII.*

By the Right Rev. A. H. Mathew, D.D. (Francis Griffiths.)

Hildebrand was only Pope of Rome for ten years and died in exile, but his theory of his office and its prerogatives left an indelible impression upon the later aims and policy of the Papacy. He was born about 1025, in the little town of Savona, of very humble parentage. He followed Gregory VI into exile in Germany, and in 1050 was appointed by Leo IX as rector of the monastery of St. Paul in Rome. He received the minor orders and the subdiaconate that year, and in 1053 was sent to France to inquire into the teaching of Berengarius. Berengarius did not deny that after consecration the bread and wine were the Body and Blood of Christ, and Hildebrand persuaded the Council of Tours to accept his general acknowledgement without pushing him to define how the change came about. Bishop Mathew shows on what intimate terms Hildebrand stood with the Emperor Henry III, and with the successive popes whom that prince nominated. He was strongly in favour of William of Normandy's invasion of England, and the banner of St. Peter floated over the invading army at Hastings. The Conqueror seems to have been the only ruler whom Hildebrand regarded with reverence not unmingled with fear. After the



death of Alexander II in 1073 Hildebrand, as archdeacon, took charge of the preparations for the election of a new pope. Whilst he was officiating in the Lateran Church at Alexander's obsequies, the whole multitude cried out, 'Hildebrand is Pope.' The cardinal-priest Hugh Candidus accepted the nomination, and Hildebrand, reluctant and in tears, was enthroned in the chair of St. Peter. A year later he called a synod in Rome which condemned the simony then prevalent, and re-enacted the stringent laws as to the celibacy of the clergy, which had become a dead letter in many places. Resistance was in vain. 'Papal legates visited every country, and, supported by the popular voice, compelled submission.' In Rome many priests retired from the ranks rather than submit. Hildebrand's relations with Henry IV of Germany soon became strained. The young king tried to depose the Pope; Gregory replied by excommunicating him and releasing his subjects from the oath of allegiance. Henry went to Canossa of his own free choice to do penance. The penance was severe, but it was one to which every penitent submitted. 'He came and left the castle as King, without seeking from the Pope any new recognition or restitution of his royal dignity.' The Pope felt no triumph over that event. He knew that it was not a reconciliation, but the prelude to new difficulties and struggles. Three years later Henry was again excommunicated. He ordered the prelates of the empire to renounce Hildebrand as Pope, and Guibert of Ravenna was invested with the papal insignia. Gregory was driven into exile, and died at Salerno on May 25, 1085. His last words, 'I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile,' show how bitterly he felt the humiliation and loss which he had met in what he deemed the path of duty. But we read his life with clearer eyes than his own. Bishop Mathew says 'his one claim to greatness lies in his creation of the hierocratic system—his undying legacy to Church and State.' He claimed a right hitherto unknown to the Church—that of disposing of kingdoms as a reward of services to himself, or as a recognition of good conduct. In his own eyes he was absolute sovereign over all things spiritual and temporal. There is the secret of his downfall. Bishop Mathew traces the effects of his preposterous assumption on the whole history of the Papacy. The book is one for which all students will feel themselves to be under a great debt.

*The Court of William III.* By Edwin and Marion Sharpe Grew. With sixteen Illustrations. (Mills & Boon. (Culley. 1s. net)

The writers of this volume regard William the Third as 'the greatest man and the greatest ruler who ever sat upon the English throne.' His natural coldness of manner always stood in his way, and it grew upon him in later years; but no one can read of his affection for Bentinck and his sorrow at his wife's death without understanding the real nature of the man. Of him and of Mary this book has much to tell, and it is told in a way that wins growing sympathy for them both. Its chief interest, however, lies in its sketches of the statesmen and courtiers who surrounded William. Lord Wharton boasted that by his 'Lilli Bulero' he had sung a king out of three kingdoms. His successes at elections, and his reputation as the finest whip and best judge of horses of his day are described with no little vigour. He was the idol of the common people, and on one occasion flowers were strewn before him as he went to quarter-sessions in a Buckinghamshire town. One of the best chapters is that on the Marquis of Halifax, who 'outdid himself and every other man' in his victorious opposition to the Bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession. The character and doings of the Marlboroughs, and 'poor stupid, affectionate Anne' with her nonentity of a husband, are described in a way that shows the difficulties which surrounded the king and queen. The quarrel as to Marlborough's dismissal only ended with Mary's life. The book is one that grows upon us, and which cannot be read without quickened interest in one of the most important periods in English history.

*The Right Hon. Cecil John Rhodes. A Monograph and a Reminiscence.* By Sir Thomas E. Fuller, K.C.M.G. With Portraits and other Illustrations. (Longmans, Green & Co. 6s. net.)

Sir Thomas Fuller enjoyed the confidence of Mr. Rhodes for many years, both in the Cape Parliament and in the great commercial enterprises in which they were associated, and this book is one in which every Englishman as well as every South African will be interested. It is not a biography, but a description of his friend's character and ideals as they were revealed to

him by daily intercourse. Mr. Rhodes had not the daring of the English soldier. He preferred a sheltered position when peril was near, and if he had to bivouac in a country infested by lions his friends said he instinctively took the middle place. But when need arose no man could face danger more courageously. In the second Matabele War he went among the savage warriors entirely unarmed and secured peace. As he returned to camp he said to one of his companions, 'It is such scenes as this which make life really worth living.' Mr. Rhodes was sometimes betrayed into an overbearing manner. Sir Thomas Fuller once told him that 'his treatment of his political friends was not that of a gentleman, and that he owed them an apology.' But this and other lapses may be excused when we know that he had 'an arterial tumour dragging at his heart the size of a human fist.' In South Africa his name is cherished by Dutch as well as British, and the objects which he set before him have been adopted as the ideals dear to all classes in South Africa. The description of his religious views is of special interest. His mature thought led him to the conclusion that the force behind nature was not a blind but a seeing force. He recognized something like purpose at the heart of things, and felt that 'to an enlightened and broadened Christianity we must look, at least in the present stage of evolution, for religious progress.' His agnosticism was softening, and he was coming nearer to the light of faith in God. He believed in work as the interpreter of ideas, and set the world an example of devotion to great purposes which it can never forget.

*Thomas Coke.* By Francis B. Upham. } (Culley. 1s. net  
*Freeborn Garrettson.* By Ezra S. Tipple. } each.)

These little books by American writers will repay study. America owes much to Coke, and Dr. Upham tells the story of his visits to the New World and his missionary apostolate with sympathy and high appreciation. The closing estimate of Coke's character and work is excellent. Freeborn Garrettson is not so well known on this side of the Atlantic, but no man, save Asbury himself, did more to promote the spread of Methodism in America. He was born in 1752 and died in 1827. He became an itinerant preacher in 1775, and was in a large and peculiar sense the founder of Methodism in the region extending northward from New York City to

Canada. His wife was one of the notable women of American Methodism, and 'their home life was beautiful beyond words.' Garrettson was a mighty preacher, a mystic, and a saint who spent a part of every hour in prayer. The little book gives a vivid picture of a memorable life.

*Climbing the Ladder* (Culley, 1s. 6d. net), the autobiography of the late Mr. David Barr, describes the struggles and successes of a village lad in a way which will brace many a youth to fresh endeavour. The simplicity with which Mr. Barr recounts his early difficulties makes the record more impressive. He began to earn his living in Coventry at the age of twelve, and afterwards became porter at a country railway station. Then he was employed by Mr. Ellis of the Sudbrook Park Hydro. as secretary and cashier. His work here was an education in many ways. In 1851 he began to push his fortunes as a traveller, and gradually gained a good position. He was an enthusiastic local preacher, and was President of the Local Preachers' Mutual Aid Association in 1906. For more than half a century he was closely connected with Birmingham Methodism. The book is well illustrated, and village Methodists and local preachers will read it with no small pleasure and profit.

*Hinde Street Chapel, 1810-1910.* By Nehemiah Curnock. (Culley. 1s. net.)

Hinde Street was opened in 1810, but the history of the society there goes back to the lifetime of Mr. Wesley, when it met at Grosvenor Market and Chandler Street. In Old Hinde Street Chapel, Charles Wesley's widow and her eldest son and daughter worshipped, and John Jackson, R.A., was precentor. The record which Mr. Curnock has prepared for the Centenary is written with characteristic vivacity, and the story is one of which every London Methodist may well be proud. Some portraits of ministers and chief supporters add much to the interest of a charming little book.

*English Episcopal Palaces.* Province of Canterbury. Edited by R. S. Rait. (Constable & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

This pleasant volume has grown out of researches made for the 'Victoria History of the Counties of England.' Its six lady writers give much detailed information about the life of

the Church of England and its great dignitaries which throws light on the course of our ecclesiastical history. The palaces of Lambeth, Fulham, Norwich, Hereford, Wells, Farnham Castle, and the old Palace of Lincoln have sections to themselves; an introductory chapter supplies brief sketches of the other episcopal residences of the province. Fifteen full-page illustrations add to the value of the book. The work is not only well done from the historian's point of view, but it makes racy reading. Sir Thomas Seymour had accused Cranmer of meanness, but when he went to Lambeth on a message from Henry VIII, he had to confess that he had abused the King with an untruth: 'For besides your Grace's house, I think he be not in the realm of none estate or degree that hath such a hall furnished or fareth more honourably at his own table.' The vines at Fulham had the reputation of ripening their grapes earlier than other vines, and Grindal used to send Elizabeth every autumn a present of the first bunch. His successor, Edwin Sandys, had a 'fair brynded dog' given him by Lady Rich. It was stolen, and Mr. More of Loseby was asked to assist in recovering it, as it had been seen near Guildford. Bishop Thorold loved every stone of Farnham Castle, and his successors owe much to his generosity in furnishing it. The book is full of good things, and young readers could scarcely have a more delightful present.

*Accidents of an Antiquary's Life.* By D. G. Hogarth.  
(Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Hogarth served his apprenticeship as a 'digger' under Sir W. M. Ramsay in 1887. The arduous work thus done in Asia Minor under the wing of 'the best epigraphist in Europe' aroused the younger man's interest in seeking, copying, noting, measuring and mapping, though saddle boils and other woes for some time robbed him of comfort. 'But the spacious landscapes, the warm dry airs, the novelty of man, beast, bird, and flower' kept him going, and he learned how to manage men and master circumstances. In 1888, as one of a party of four who went to Cyprus to dig, he visited almost every village in that island, trying to put into practice what he had learned from his chief the previous summer. In less than two years he was with Ramsay again in Asia Minor. Then he was asked to take charge of the excavations promoted by the Egypt Exploration Fund, and for three seasons learned much from

Petrie and those who had worked under that veteran explorer. Two Oxford scholars who searched with him for papyrus scraps in the Fayum desert were thus encouraged to embark on a course which has led them to European fame. Mr. Hogarth's 'Apology of an Apprentice' helps one to understand the fascination of his wandering life. He gained much experience of men and things by acting as newspaper representative in Crete, then he found his way to Lycia and explored the ruins of Myra. The exploration of the mythic birthplace of Minos, the Father God of Crete, yielded a wonderful harvest of bronzes, and seemed to bring Mr. Hogarth very near to men who lived before history. Mr. Hogarth had a wonderful find at Ephesus on the site of the Temple of Diana. Every page of his book is of absorbing interest to those who can thus watch the past giving up its secrets. We know no explorer's story better worth reading than this.

*Highways and Byways in Buckinghamshire.* By Clement Shorter. With Illustrations by Frederick L. Griggs. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

Buckinghamshire has been the home of so many illustrious men that Mr. Shorter's pages are crowded with interesting matter. He starts at Aylesbury, with its old inns and its lively political history. The church dates from the thirteenth century, and under its Lady Chapel it is said that St. Osyth was buried before her body was removed to the Abbey of Chich in Essex. Hartwell House, where Louis XVIII once lived, is just outside the town, and in every direction are places of which we can scarcely hear too much. The interest grows intense as we reach Chequers Court—where Colonel Russell, great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell, once lived—and begin to trace the footsteps of John Hampden. We regret, however, that Mr. Griggs has not given us any view of the patriot's home or of Great Hampden Church. High Wycombe, Hughenden, Beaconsfield, and the places associated with William Penn and John Milton never lose their charm, and Mr. Shorter gives new life to the familiar story. The whole book is full of spirit, and Mr. Griggs is very happy in his choice of subjects and the way in which he has treated them.



## GENERAL

*The Spirit of America.* By Henry Van Dyke. (The Macmillan Co. 6s. 6d. net.)

THESE seven lectures were delivered at the Sorbonne on the Hyde Foundation for the annual interchange of professors between France and America. Prof. Van Dyke throws welcome light on many features of American life and character which are of the deepest interest to us in England. We have not met with a more illuminating survey of American literature than that given in the last lecture. Dr. Van Dyke says it reveals four national traits. Its strong religious feeling stands first. There is hardly any other nation, except Scotland, in which there is so much church-going, Sabbath-keeping, and Bible-reading. Next we note that love of nature which sends multitudes to spend their vacations in the forests and by the rivers; then comes the sense of humour and the sentiment of humanity. The most vital and irreducible quality of the soul of America is the spirit of self-reliance. 'Each typical American is a person who likes to take care of himself, to have his own way, to manage his own affairs.' He dislikes interference, and is not inclined to rely upon the State for aid and comfort. Such a spirit has its drawbacks. 'Perhaps it has spoiled the worst material; but it has made the most of the average material, and it has bettered the best material.' The next great feature is the spirit of fair play which insists on equality of opportunity for all. That, as Prof. Van Dyke understands it, is the sum total of democracy in America. Its ruling passion is 'not equality, but personal freedom for every man to exercise his will-power under a system of self-reliance and fair play.' The two lectures on 'Common Order and Co-operation' and 'Personal Development and Education' are as suggestive as the rest. Any one who studies this volume will find that he has the key to the chief problems of life in America. The lecturer puts his points so clearly, his style is so crisp, his illustrations so forcible, that it is a pleasure to go through this set of studies. No one who wishes to understand America and the Americans can afford to overlook them.

ANTI MIAΣ: *An Essay in Isometry*. Two vols. By R. J. Walker. (Macmillan. 21s. net.)

Here is a work unique in modern scholarship—one might almost say unique in literature. It might be compared to one of those colossal monographs on some highly specialized department of science in which the result of a lifetime of investigation and observation is given in the amplest detail. So here our author takes one almost microscopic feature of the metrical form of Greek lyric poetry, and develops his theory of it into two stately volumes comprising nearly nine hundred pages. His thesis is, that in the corresponding strophes and anti-strophes of ode and chorus it is an error to admit two short syllables as the metrical equivalent of one long. Now there are in the extant remains of Greek poetry from seven hundred to eight hundred instances of this equivalence, instances which have passed unchallenged from the days of Porson to those of Jebb. True, it so happens, and curiously too, that more than half of them occur in passages in which the true reading has always been matter of doubt on quite other grounds. But these objections are recognized by Mr. Walker only as corroborating his theory; for him the one note of spuriousness is the occurrence of the 'resolved syllable'; and he goes right through Pindar, Bacchylides, and all the dramatists, proposing an emendation of every passage in which this phenomenon occurs. It is as though some critic on Shakespeare laid down the canon that every line of his blank verse must be strictly iambic, containing neither more nor less than ten syllables, and proceeded to propose, e.g. for 'With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design,' 'With Tarquin's lustful strides, towards his design,' and for 'Each corporal agent to this terrible feat,' 'Each vital organ to this dreadful feat,' and so on through all the plays. It is, therefore, not surprising to find him challenging as absurd or unintelligible readings which such scholars as Jebb have found both lucid and appropriate. Nor is it surprising that the great majority of his emendations should not appear convincing, or even plausible, to a student who has read Greek poetry in the companionship of great scholars. Still, there does remain a certain residuum which are at all events as satisfactory as any hitherto proposed. To be sure, the writer reiterates that his theory does not stand or fall with his emendations. True, but it continually happens that a reading hitherto unsuspected, which gives excellent

sense, is challenged solely on the ground of its traversing this supposed metrical canon, and the challenge can be justified only by showing that the accepted sense is not worthy of the poet, or that another is more worthy of him; and it is just here that the attack fails. Again, in passages where the present reading is admittedly unsatisfactory, it is only occasionally that the flaw is found in the particular word on which Mr. Walker is constrained by his theory to fasten. Hence we are compelled to say rather that the book is highly suggestive and interesting, than that it is epoch-making in textual criticism. For the rest, it is due to the author to say that he is admirably equipped for his task by profound and extensive scholarship and by a thorough mastery of the technicalities of classical metres. He may be mistaken, but he never blunders. In addition to this, he has a vivacity of style, a clearness of exposition, a sureness of touch, which must recommend his work to every scholar, and which give it a claim to be taken account of by all future commentators, and to lie on the table of every lecturer on, and every real student of, Greek lyric poetry. There is a piquant pungency in some of his comments which is quite exhilarating. Thus, after quoting a certain rendering of a crux in the *Septem*, he observes: 'On this I can only say that the useful exercise of translating through a brick wall may, if resolutely persisted in, blind even eminent scholars to the possibilities of sane speech.' There is, too, a certain naïveté in his confident satisfaction with his own suggestions—one, an example of many, 'seems to me entirely free from any possible objection'—which helps to keep up the reader's spirits.

The style in which the work is brought out—a style which has often extorted the admiration and envy of French and German scholars—is a credit both to author and publishers. The very proof-revision has been performed with marvellous accuracy, considering the innumerable pitfalls that beset an author in this class of work. We have noted one *calami lapsus*—'*Admetus*' for '*Adrastus*' in Vol. II., p. 93.

The question will naturally suggest itself, Was all this research, this ingenuity of conjecture, this labour of compilation, in order to recommend a new view respecting one minute point in the study of Greek poetry, worth while? The question may be answered by asking another, Is it worth while for a scientist to devote years on years to the investigation of

one species of Lepidoptera? No scientist would hesitate to reply that it is only by such means that any sure advances can be made in science. The answer, *mutatis mutandis*, will hold good for such work as Mr. Walker's in the estimation of all who consider the thoughts, and their expression, of the most gifted people that ever lived as being as worthy patient and minute study as the mysteries of the being of any insect or grub that ever flew or crawled.

*The Literature of the Victorian Era.* By Hugh Walker, LL.D. (Cambridge University Press. 10s. net.)

Prof. Walker's subject is one to tax the utmost powers of a critic and historian, but he comes triumphantly through the test. His divisions are simple but adequate. An introduction of two chapters headed 'The New Age; The German Influence; Thomas Carlyle,' is followed by three parts—I, 'Speculative Thought,' including Theology, Philosophy, Science; II, 'Creative Art: Poetry and Prose Fiction'; Part III, 'Et Cetera,' has three chapters: 'History and Biography,' 'Literary and Aesthetic Criticism,' 'Miscellaneous Prose.' The book is full of detail, but it is never dull. The writer moves easily through the vast realm with which he has become familiar, and by apt quotation and happy incident keeps attention alert from beginning to end. The work is well proportioned, and the criticism is free from bias. Some little-known writers receive happy recognition, and full justice is done to the kings of song—Tennyson and Browning. The sections on theology and science are of real value. The discussion of Jowett's position is trenchant. As to the poet of the Oxford Movement, he says, 'The conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils of Keble are indeed shrunk to little measure.' The chapter on Carlyle is one of the best in the book. 'His phrases could sear like hot iron, or illuminate like a sudden burst of sunshine. Many of Carlyle's epigrams are inimitably racy; sometimes they are pregnant with a wisdom shared by many, but consummately expressed only by him. Jewels of description, especially descriptions of persons, are lavished on his letters and journals.' Every library will be enriched by the addition of this volume to its shelves.

*A Japanese Artist in London.* Written and Illustrated by Yoshio Markino. (Chatto & Windus. 6s. net.)

This is a book which gives the reader as many thrills as

*The Colour of London* itself. No artist can have borne more in pursuit of his art than this descendant of the old Samurai prince. It makes us proud to see how different was the treatment meted out to the author in London from that which he met with in San Francisco. Our big metropolis has fascinated Markino. He sees poetry in its fogs, he finds artistic inspiration in its crowds. His description of a month in hospital is weirdly impressive, and some of his ideas as to art and life furnish abundant matter for discussion. Incidentally, also, there is not a little that helps us to understand the Japanese view of life and art. The impression is deepened by the quaint language and by the illustrations in colour which bring out Markino's mastery of his art. The pen-and-ink and pencil studies are revelations of the painstaking care with which this fine artist has pursued his studies. He still feels himself but a beginner, and is hoping to do far better work than any that he has yet given us.

*Portrait Miniatures.* Text by George C. Williamson.  
Edited by Charles Holme (*The Studio*).

This spring number of *The Studio* consists of an essay by Dr. George Williamson with fifty-six plates of illustrations in monotone and in colours. The word miniature comes from the minium, or red lead, with lines of which the little portraits on illuminated manuscripts were bordered. Dr. Williamson's survey begins with Holbein's exquisite 'Mrs. Pemberton,' 'one of the most astonishing works ever produced by a miniature painter.' Then we pass to Nicholas Hilliard, one of the first English masters, and his pupil Isaac Oliver, who carried the art to still greater perfection. Samuel Cooper is regarded by many as the noblest miniature painter of Europe, and the rugged men of his day lose none of their force in his portraits. Cosway is pre-eminent for exquisite grace and beauty, and the specimens here reproduced are worthy of his reputation. Dr. Williamson's notes help a reader to follow the development of the art and to form some judgement as to the style of each painter. The essay closes with a somewhat briefer sketch of the French miniature painters and the great Viennese master Jüger. The essay is of the deepest interest, and brings out many particulars as to the artists which should lead to close study of their work and of the whole subject. The plates are really masterpieces. We almost feel as though we had the

miniatures themselves in front of us. Editor and author are to be warmly congratulated on a notable piece of work, and the collectors who have lent their chief treasures for reproduction may feel that a worthy use has been made of their generosity.

*The Approach to the Social Question.* By Francis Greenwood Peabody. (Macmillan. 5s. net.)

Prof. Peabody, whose well-known work entitled *Jesus Christ and the Social Problem* was followed by *Jesus Christ and the Christian Character*, has now completed his 'trilogy.' This third volume aims at an 'orientation,' as the Germans would call it, of the Social Question and Philosophy, Sociology, Economics, Ethics, Ethical Idealism, and Religion. The pre-supposition of the book is that this is the age of the Social Question, and the author proceeds to show how all paths of specialization and study lead up to it, as so many stages of one pilgrim road (to borrow Prof. Peabody's figure) to a magnificent cathedral. 'The Social Question is God's way of persuasion to the mind of the present age.' So far from diverting minds from the ancient ways of faith, it may become a *Preparatio Evangelica*. Rightly understood, this aspect of the Question will save it from its great peril, materialism, and will lead it past 'the limits of duty into the region of privilege.' This conception is worked out with all the author's persuasive reasonableness and earnest sympathy. He writes with a certain detachment; nor could any school of reformers claim him as their own; but his quotations are at once liberal and catholic. Every student of social reform needs a point of view, and he would find no saner counsellor than Prof. Peabody.

*The Kingdom without Frontiers. A Missionary Survey.*  
By Thomas Moscrop. (Culley. 3s. 6d. net.)

The Rev. Thomas Moscrop is well qualified by experience and study and sympathy to write on the subject of foreign missions, and his style of writing makes the reader's task easy and pleasant. In the twelve chapters of this deeply interesting book he gives a comprehensive review of modern missionary effort—its great variety of method, its difficulties and triumphs, and the immense task still to be accomplished. The book is not full of figures, though valuable and encouraging statistics are



given; but in an illuminative and suggestive manner attention is drawn to many signs which show how widespread and beneficent are the social and spiritual results of the work already done. Some of the chapters press home upon Christendom the special and urgent needs of to-day, especially among Mohammedan peoples and in the South American continent. Mr. Moscrop has obtained the latest information from many parts of the mission field, and has used it to produce this original and helpful book. The work will be welcomed by students of missions, and advocates of the cause will find in it very valuable material. We heartily commend the book to others also, especially to unbiased inquirers and critics who desire to know the truth about missionary work. A chapter on 'Criticism and Testimony' deals effectively with what is said about missions by friends and foes. The book contains much that will enlighten and encourage the supporters of missions, stimulating hope and zeal, and arousing gratitude for past success.

*Gathered Leaves from the Prose of Mary E. Coleridge,  
with a Memoir by Edith Sichel.* (Constable & Co.  
7s. 6d. net.)

This book is a feast for lovers of dainty literature. Miss Sichel's memoir is as charming as her friend's prose and poetry. Her description of Miss Coleridge excites attention: 'She was all poet, and three-quarters saint; she was holy, without the faintest tinge of puritanism; she was merry, without injury to her holiness.' Fantastic so that she scarce seemed to tread on solid earth, she could astonish her associates by her shrewd and sober judgements. Shakespeare cast his spell over her long before she was in her teens, and from that hour her life was changed. The charm never vanished. In her last illness she said, 'Life is worth living as long as there is *King Lear* to read.' Her natural timidity vanished when she touched her pen, and Miss Sichel says she was 'capable of the most surprising boldness by letter, and of non-plussing self-betrayals to the public.' Her fancy failed when it had to face long tasks, but her 'beginnings' were of the first order. *The King with Two Faces* suddenly brought her reputation, and other fine work followed. Some of her short stories in this volume are fine work, though they are not altogether pleasant, and her essays are quite full of charm. But we like best the passages from 'Letters and Diaries,' which

reveal a thinker and dreamer with not a little of her great-uncle Samuel Taylor Coleridge's power. The whole book is delicious.

*A Modern Chronicle.* By Winston Churchill. (Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

Honora Leffingwell, the orphan daughter of the United States Consul at Nice, is brought up by an uncle and aunt at St. Louis and marries a New York stockbroker, from whom she secures a divorce because she has fallen in love with Hugh Chiltern. This pleasing reprobate is killed just at the moment when Honora's eyes are being opened, and the way is free for the fine lawyer who has always worshipped her. The story is a powerful indictment of the rich and pleasure-loving American, but it cannot be called profitable reading. Honora is fascinating, despite her folly and ambition; whilst Peter Erwin and Honora's uncle and aunt are altogether delightful. Most of the company we keep makes us shudder.

*The Undesirable Governess.* By F. Marion Crawford. (Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

We have no story in this vein from Mr. Crawford. It is a little English comedy with a delicious ending. Ellen Scott manages to disguise her personal charms, and plays the part of governess to two amazing girls to perfection. The balloon adventure and the night at a private lunatic asylum add a touch of excitement to a really amusing tale.

*Canadian Born.* By Mrs. Humphry Ward. (Smith, Elder & Co. 6s.)

George Anderson, a young Canadian railway engineer, wins the heart of Lady Merton, an English visitor, and persuades her to share the fortunes of himself and his country. Every Canadian will feel more proud of the Dominion as he sees how it has laid hold of the imagination of our great novelist. George Anderson's drunken father reappears on the scene at a very awkward moment, but his tragic death helps Lady Merton to see more clearly the truth and honour of his son. The descriptions of Canadian scenery are very fine. George Anderson's strong character grows upon us till we cease to wonder at his good fortune. The story is full of sympathy with the settler's life, and Lady Merton has no reason to regret her honeymoon in the wilds of Ontario.

*According to Maria.* By Mrs. John Lane. (Lane. 6s.)

Maria reminds us of the Baron in *The Caravaners*. She lifts selfishness and snobbishness to the rank of high art, and sacrifices her husband and her daughter to her ruling passion—the conquest of society. Her social progress from Brixton to Clapham, and thence to West Kensington and Bayswater, is chronicled with a veiled satire which makes Mrs. Lane's book inimitable in its own fashion. Maria's daughter Diana is as honest and true-hearted a girl as one could wish to find, and her fidelity to Dicky Hicks and the triumph of the lovers over all the maternal schemes is really delightful. Maria sees her daughter well on the road to a title; but that felicity for which she had prayed and schemed is not without its humiliations, though Dicky and Diana do their best to smooth over the awkward places. There is both fun and wisdom in this amusing chronicle.

*Mad Shepherds, and other Human Studies.* By L. P. Jacks. (Williams & Norgate. 4s. 6d. net.)

The most interesting figure in this book is Snarley Bob, the shepherd who had been a Methodist, and dies asking that 'the best bit in the Book,' the story of 'the woman in adultery,' may be read to him. The chapter about his 'Invisible Companion' greatly pleases us. Mr. Jacks sees not a little that is good in the infidel shoemaker, and he certainly has learnt the secret of doing good. Mrs. Abel, the rector's wife, is the queen of Mr. Jacks's strange world, and we are sorry he does not allow us to see more of her.

*I will Maintain.* By Marjorie Bowen. (Methuen & Co. 6s.)

This is the motto of the House of Nassau, and the grandson of William the Silent is nobly true to it. We first see him under the stern guardianship of John de Witt, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, who lavishes his labour on the training of the boy, but fails to give him the confidence for which his heart hungers. For that he had to turn to his tutor, the old Calvinist pastor, by whose deathbed we read the depths of William's nature. Miss Bowen makes every scene and character live, and each line and phrase which she uses deepens the impression. The sea fight off Solebay is powerfully described, and so is William's heroic fight with the French

outside Utrecht. The murder of the noble brothers De Witt forms a tragic close to a story which stirs the imagination and enchains the interest of the reader from the first word to the last.

*The Broken Bond.* By Mrs. Annie Drummond. (Culley. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is a story showing 'the happiness which comes from moral strength, the beauty of bravery and steadfastness, the ever-present power resulting from communion with God.' It is meant for young men, and it is so written that young men will read it, not critically—that would be fatal to it at the outset—but straightforwardly, as a story of current commercial life. And it will do them good, uncovering the pitfalls which await them, enlightening and strengthening their conscience, proving by examples that 'all things work together for good to them that love God,' and clearly pointing out the way of salvation. The volume is attractively bound, and is in every way suitable for guilds, and brotherhoods, and Sunday schools. It should also be noted by our temperance friends. From the Foreword by Miss Agnes Slack we learn that part of the profits of the book are to be given to the World's Christian Temperance Union, to be devoted to 'our work in India.'

*The Ring of Pope Xystus*, Together with the Prologue of Rufinus. By F. C. Conybeare, M.A. (Williams & Norgate. 4s. 6d. net.)

*The Ring of Pope Xystus* was widely read and highly praised in Christian circles as early as 250 A.D., and Mr. Conybeare gives reasons for thinking that it was written a hundred years earlier. It was probably composed of aphorisms which had circulated among the Cynics and New Pythagoreans. Origen refers to the author as one familiar to most Christians, and we may therefore conclude that he was a Christian. A century and a half later we find the popularity of the work undiminished. Augustine quotes three of the aphorisms as sayings of Sixtus or Xystus, a bishop of Rome and a martyr, and Jerome cites one passage with much approval. Until recently the full text of the aphorisms was only preserved in the Latin and Syriac versions. Mr. Conybeare has now first rendered them into English, with an historical and critical commentary. He thinks it is a Christian recension of an

earlier collection of aphorisms. It is not wholly Stoic or Pythagorean, and many echoes of the Gospels are to be found in it. The aphorisms are seldom more than a couple of lines in length, and are often very suggestive. 'A man enslaved by pleasure is enslaved by an evil demon'; 'Do what is right even to those who wrong thee.' 'Fate hath no mastery over God's grace. Else had it mastery also over God'; 'A wise man reconciles God to men.'

*Thomas of Kempen.* By James Williams. (Kegan Paul & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

These sermonettes in verse find their texts in sayings from the *Imitatio Christi*, and have really caught the fragrance of its devotion and the secret of its contempt of the world. Every phrase is clear-cut, and words and thoughts are aptly wedded. Some of the shortest pieces are full of suggestion. 'Manet in Aeternum' is the motto for four lines—

Love poises him on his immortal wings,  
And where he is the clouds are rosy red;  
He will not perish till the end of things,  
Till death himself is dead.

The sermonette which opens—

Man framed a Christ to match his heart  
Wherein no real Christ had part—

makes a powerful appeal, whilst 'Pauci ignominiam crucis sequuntur' suggests a tender warning against 'treason to the Holy Name.' The book is one to pick up and ponder over in a leisure moment. It has music in it, and true devotion.

Browning's *Men and Women* (Frowde, 2s. 6d. net) is the latest addition to the Oxford Library of Prose and Poetry. It is a verbatim reprint of the edition of 1855 subsequently rearranged by the poet. There is a rich feast for all who love poetry that provokes thought and involves close study of character. The fifty poems, as Prof. Dowden said, enrich life 'with colour, warmth, music, romance, not dissociated from thought and intellectual energy, rather possessing and being possessed by these.' This is a reprint which adds to one's pleasure in studying a set of masterpieces.

Mr. Frowde has added *The Poems of Alfred Lord Tennyson*, 1830-1865, to the World's Classics. The portrait and the

art covers, the good type and paper, and the delightful Introduction by the President of Magdalen make this an extraordinary volume for one shilling net. It has 622 pages. Every lover of Tennyson will want to have this treasure.

Messrs. Ward, Lock & Co. are issuing a 'World Library of Famous Books' (1s. net; red leather, gilt, 2s. net). They make handsome volumes with their green cloth covers and peacock end papers and frontispiece portraits. The print is specially clear, and the paper good. The first thirty volumes include three by Thomas Carlyle, two each by Darwin, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, and one by many other famous authors. Fiction naturally is prominent, but science is represented by Darwin, and humour by Mark Twain. Such reprints are sure of a welcome. The selection is catholic, and the publishers have spared neither skill nor money in making the World Library as attractive as any series on the market.

*Battersea Park as a Centre for Nature Study.* By Walter Johnson, F.G.S. (Unwin. 1s. net.)

This little book is brought out under the auspices of the Battersea and Wandsworth Educational Council, and its author has a high reputation as a field-worker. His opening chapters on the history of the region, archaeology, geology, and geography will arrest the attention of boys and girls, and the five chapters on Bird Life, Mammals and Fishes, Miscellaneous Animals, Insects, and Botany will surprise and delight all Londoners. Everything is so clearly put that the dullest can understand, and the book will teach many to use their eyes as they have never done before. Suggestions for rambles, lists of books, and an outline calendar of Natural History add greatly to the value of this manual. We wish every London household had a copy of it for constant use.

*Wild Flowers and How to Identify them.* By Hilderic Friend. (Culley. 1s. net.)

The gift of this little pocket guide would make any boy or girl in love with botany. Its coloured illustrations are very effective, and those in black and white scarcely less so. The groups of flowers supply full guidance for a young collector, and Mr. Friend writes in a way that makes the whole subject appetizing.



*The Methodist Who's Who?* 1910. (Culley. 2s. 6d. net.)

Brief biographical sketches of prominent ministers and laymen in all the British Methodist Churches; good so far as it goes, but capable of improvement, especially in the way of addition and enlargement, many prominent persons in both departments being conspicuous by their absence. The work meets a general and not illegitimate desire, and with the years will doubtless become a household friend throughout the wide-spread Methodist family at home and abroad. It will be of interest and service to the general public. The information for future issues should be gathered, not merely from the persons concerned, but from all available sources.

*Social Aspects of the Drink Problem*, by J. Alfréd Sharp (Culley, 6d. net), is a small book packed with the results of wide study and much experience. Mr. Sharp sees clearly that the uplifting of the life of the people is everywhere being nullified by the drink evil. He deals with the problems of drink and parentage, drink and the child, drink and poverty, drink and unemployment, alcoholism and crime in a way that cannot fail to stir the conscience of all who wish to promote the public weal. Mr. Sharp believes in his cause, and he makes his reader believe in it. The book is well written, and it will make a deep impression.

## Periodical Literature

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### BRITISH

THERE is a valuable article in the *Edinburgh Review* (April-June) on some recent histories of the French Revolution, notably the eighth volume of the *Cambridge Modern History*, and Mr. Hilaire Belloc's monographs on Danton, Robespierre, and Marie Antoinette. 'The supreme lesson of the Revolution,' says the writer, 'was not to teach men some new form of government, but rather to teach for the first time by actual fact, even by the spilling of much blood, that all men are equal, if they only care for and are fit to claim this equality, and that real inequalities only come from men's own natures and not from circumstances. The essential and permanent doctrine is in a word summed up in Burns's "A Man's a Man for a' That." . . . This equality of opportunity for all is the great work of the French Revolution.' The *Century Study* of Oliver Wendell Holmes is biographical, illustrative, and critical. It deals with him as poet, essayist, and novelist. His life may be summed in his well-known couplet:

Leave what you've done for what you have to do,  
Don't be 'consistent,' but be simply true.

Dr. Holmes is described as 'a writer of singular beauty of character, genial humour, brilliant wit, cheerful philosophy, and charm of style.' His religious creed, as he himself declared, 'is to be found in the first two words of the Pater Noster.'

Many of our readers would be interested in *The Art of Henry James*, by Mr. Morton Fullerton, in the April-June number of the *Quarterly Review*; more, probably, in the article on *Ancient and Modern Stoicism*; but most of all in the first of what promises to be an unusually important series of essays on *Socialism*. This deals with 'Its Meaning and Origin,' and opens in this comprehensive and bewildering way: 'Of all the "isms" invented by man for his edification or his torment, none has excited so much controversy and produced so much confusion of thought, none is so variable and elastic in meaning, none so slippery and elusive as Socialism. It presents so many aspects, embraces so many conceptions, and touches so many interests that it is, if not all things to all men, something to every man, and something different from each point of view. It is both abstract and concrete, theoretical and practical; it is a philosophy, a religion, an ethical scheme, an interpretation of history, an imaginative vision, an economic theory, a juristic conception, a popular movement, a philanthropic ideal, a political programme, a revolution, an evolution,

a class war, the end of strife, a greedy scramble, a gospel of love, a gospel of hate, the bright hope of mankind, a dark menace to society, the dawn of the millennium, and a frightful catastrophe—as you choose to regard it.' After this, we ought easily to be able to know what is meant by Socialism when we hear the word in pulpit or in street.

In the *Dublin Review* (April-June) there is a fine poem by the late Francis Thompson, written after hearing that it was the habit of a friend to pray for him every morning, and beginning :

She told me, in the morning her white thought  
Did beat to Godward, like a carrier-dove,  
My name beneath its wing.

According to Mr. Francis McCullagh, the Petersburg correspondent of the *New York Times*, the near East is preparing for another coup similar to that of 1908. This conclusion is reached by a long and well-informed discussion of what the writer calls 'Modernism in Islam,' based on much recent Russian literature relating to a movement in the heart of Islam in Stamboul; a movement whose motive force is not religious enthusiasm so much as Western influence and political expediency, and the effect of which, if it should be successful, will probably be as great on the future history of the world as the not dissimilar movement in Japan has been. The writer regards this ominous movement as a necessary accompaniment of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, and traces it especially in the schools and in the press, both of which are in the hands of 'advanced men.' The movement, he thinks, will not succeed; but its failure would 'mean the disgrace of a European nation, and have important consequences in Egypt, India, Africa, Persia, and Central Asia. At present it is strong in Mohammedan countries outside Turkey, especially in Persia, in India, and among the twenty millions of Moslems in the Russian Empire.

**Hibbert Journal** (April).—M. Loisy's article (in French, with an appended translation) on the volume *Jesus or Christ?* does not shed much light on the main question, but in view of the prevailing differences of opinion among theologians, a plea is urged for mutual toleration. The writer well says, 'The idea of divine immanence is an affair of philosophy. It can only be used in religion' under strict safeguards. Would that some would-be theologians would remember that! Prof. J. Arthur Thomson's republished Murtle Lecture on the *Three Voices of Nature*, bidding us strive, enjoy, and inquire, is full of charm and interest. Prof. Henry Jones pleads for more of the influence of moral ideals in politics. No one who passed through the general election in January last can question the 'ethical demand' of which the eloquent professor writes. An article, *Concerning Imprisonment*, by 'One who has suffered it,' has awakened much interest. Probably the psychological effects of the system upon the writer were largely peculiar to himself, but he has made out a case

for further inquiry. A collection of Moslem sermons by eminent Mohammedan preachers in the mosques of Constantinople exhibits a high type of moral and religious appeal. Other articles are on *Psychical Research*, *The Futility of Absolutism*, and *The Revision of the Anglican Prayer-Book*.

**Journal of Theological Studies** (April).—Sir H. Howorth continues his study of the history of the Canon of the Old Testament in the Christian Church. In this number he dwells on the influence of Jerome in the Western Church, making the most of the differences between the great Western scholar and the less critical tradition which had been handed down before the fourth century. A long article follows on *Ordination and Matrimony in the Eastern Orthodox Church*, by Rev. C. Knetes, B.Lit. Among the more interesting notes and studies are *The Peraea Ministry*, by Prof. Burkitt, an exposition of the 68th Psalm by Rev. C. J. Ball, and *Old Testament Notes* by Dr. C. F. Burney. Prof. Burkitt's review of von Soden's African New Testament is interesting in view of the discussion on the German scholar's theories of textual criticism.

The most important contribution to the April number of *Mind* is the article on *The Humanist Theory of Value*, by Mr. Oliver C. Quick. It is too elaborate to be easily summarized or characterized; but, like Mr. Schiller's review, in the same number, of Prof. James's new work, *The Meaning of Truth*, it is too actual and too interesting to students of Pragmatism to be neglected. Among the critical notices there is an extended review by Prof. A. E. Taylor of *The Symposium of Plato*, by R. G. Bury. This, it appears, is the first English edition with a commentary of Plato's great 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty,' and the writer speaks in high terms of Mr. Bury's work. His Introduction provides 'an eloquent and generally sane analysis of the purpose and structure of the dialogue,' and the notes are 'brief and often enlightening.'

Besides the opening chapters of Mr. H. G. Wells's new story *The New Machiavelli*, the reading of which, alas, is rendered painfully difficult by the small type in which it is printed, *The English Review* for May contains the first of a series of essays on *Shakespeare's Women*, in which Mr. Frank Harris is endeavouring to throw new light on Shakespeare's 'mind and growth.' The first essay is intensely interesting, apart from its polemical purpose; but it is evident that the whole series is meant to be an answer to the numerous critics of his remarkable book on *The Man Shakespeare*.

**The Expositor** (April and May).—Dr. Hort's posthumous commentary on St. James is reviewed by the practised hand of Prof. J. B. Mayor. It is very interesting to watch the coincidences of thought and the occasional diversities of opinion of two such experts. The discussion of the meaning of *ἐλπίς* in Jas. iii. 4 is very illuminating. Principal Griffith Jones bestows high, but abundantly deserved, praise on Dr.

Forsyth's handling of the doctrine of Atonement in his *Person and Place of Jesus Christ*. Several articles are items in a long series, e.g. Sir W. Ramsay's on *First Timothy*, Canon Driver's exposition of certain psalms, and von Dobschütz on *The Eschatology of the Gospels*. We hasten to add that these are all of first-rate value, as is the series on *Sin as a Problem of To-Day*, by Prof. Orr. One of the most interesting and useful articles that has appeared for a long time is that by Prof. H. R. Mackintosh of Edinburgh on *Miracles and the Modern Christian Mind*.

**The Expository Times** (April and May).—Dr. Hastings' notes of recent exposition show no traces of flagging or weariness. He has the art of selecting from current literature topics of current importance, and subjects which might appear dull he invests with an interest of their own. Amongst others we notice a discussion of Prof. Johns' remarks on *Myth* in the Cambridge Biblical Essays, Prof. Percy Gardner's definition of Inspiration, and Westphal's fascinating volume *Jehovah*, dealing with the religious history of Israel. Sir W. Ramsay contributes two articles on *The Authorities for the Institution of the Eucharist*, but his learned arguments do not admit of being summarized. Other articles are on *The German Excavations of Jericho*, *The Election of Paul*, and *Crete, the Jordan and the Rhone*, by Dr. Rendel Harris. Prof. Holdsworth continues his thoughtful exposition of *The Life of Faith*.

**The Holborn Review** (April).—This number contains several well-written articles on topics of current interest, among which we may mention *Culture in the Free Churches*, by W. Harvey-Jellie, B.D., *The Problem of Christ*, by G. P. Maynard, and *The Philosophy of William James: its Significance for Religion and Theology*, by Ernest Price, M.A. The editor points out the significance of the new edition of the *Journal of John Wesley*. He gives deserved commendation to Rev. Nehemiah Curnock for his laborious and successful editorial services, and shows afresh the value of this great religious classic, now worthily presented to the world. Other articles are on *Music as a Religious Agency*, William de Morgan, and *Evolution in the Light of Revelation*. Dr. Peake's survey of current exegetical and theological literature is instructive as usual.

#### AMERICAN

**Bibliotheca Sacra**.—The April number contains several articles, from a conservative point of view, on questions bearing on Old Testament Criticism. The able Jewish barrister, Harold M. Wiener, LL.B., deals with the difficulties presented by the Joseph narratives. Instead of postulating two stories to account for 'Ishmaelites' in Gen. xxxix. 1, and 'Midianites' in xxxvii. 28 and 36, he justifies emendation of the text and reads Ishmaelites in all. Dr. Magoun writes on *The Glacial Epoch and the Noachian Deluge*, and comes to the following conclusion: 'Much remains to be learned concerning the deluge; but the conviction is growing that a world catastrophe

lies back of Noah's story.' The article of most general interest is on *Psychology and Regeneration*, by Dr. W. Brenton Greene. Quotations are given from modern psychologists which reveal a tendency to eliminate the supernatural from regeneration. Dr. Greene's position is that although the psychological study of religious experience has cast light upon the change known as regeneration, it has not succeeded in explaining away 'the necessity for positing the immediate intervention of God Himself in the life of the soul if that change is to be accounted for.' Dr. Gabriel Campbell reminds us that Fichte, Germany's most renowned educator, was 'founder and architect of the Imperial University of Berlin,' whose centenary will be celebrated in the autumn of this year. He is of opinion that 'no other philosopher in the fatherland of modern thinking has appealed so strongly to the Western world.'

**Harvard Theological Review.**—The articles in the April number reach a high standard of excellence. In a paper entitled *Concerning Miracle*, by the late Dr. Borden P. Bowne, of Boston University, it is maintained that 'for the theist the presumption against showy thaumaturgy is strong.' On the other hand, 'nothing is gained for religion by minimizing its supernatural claims.' The subject ought always to be dealt with from the point of view of the central Christian conceptions. Those who hold the supreme miracle of the incarnation of the Son of God can 'hardly fail to see that the Resurrection and the Ascension are an integral part of it.' In a comprehensive review of several recent books, Dr. Ephraim Everton describes *The Religious Environment of Early Christianity*. To those who ask what would have happened if Constantine had adopted the militant religion of Mithra instead of the lowly service of the cross, this answer is given, 'There can be little doubt that such an attempt would have resulted in disastrous failure. It was not the support of government, welcome as that doubtless was, that gave to Christianity its convincing power over the lives of men. It was its answer to the riddle of the ages.' The probable future of religion under Socialism is discussed by Vida D. Scudder in a thoughtful article on *Religion and Socialism*. Among the forces that lead toward the future, 'religious passion plays an essential rôle.' Stress is laid on the necessity of recognizing the influence of Eastern thought as well as the advance of Western science. The great gift of the East is 'an ever-present sense of the Eternal,' and the Western nations need to cultivate the immediate consciousness of God in order that the temptations to a new hedonism may be counteracted. 'If we are really to build "in England's green and pleasant land" a nearer image than heretofore of the *Civitas Dei*, it may well be that the heavens and He that dwelleth therein shall be as well discerned from its streets thronged with comrades as from the lonely sweep of the desert or the peaks of farthest Himalay.'

**The American Journal of Theology** (April).—It is difficult to say which of the four leading articles is the more interesting—*The Status of Christian Education in India*, by Prof. E. D. Burton, *The*



*Task and Method of Systematic Theology*, by Prof. Warfield, *The Religion of Jesus*, by S. J. Case, or *The Transcendence of God in Relation to Freedom and Immortality*, by A. Oosterpeerd. The first two writers are well known to us, and each is at his best. Prof. Burton's recent travels and studies in India enable him to write with authority upon a most timely subject, and Prof. Warfield, writing on systematic theology, plants his foot on his native heath. With the drift of the third article we utterly disagree, but it is ably written and deserves study, if only to refute the notion that the Pauline interpretation of Christ is a perversion of the original. The reviews are able and discriminating, but amongst them the criticism of Dr. Forsyth's *Person and Place of Jesus Christ* is hardly worthy of its subject.

**The Methodist Review** (March-April and May-June).—The earlier of these numbers contains an admirable article by Professor Bowne on the much-discussed question, *Jesus or Christ?* Dr. Nicholson pleads for a 'denominational control of colleges,' in order to secure their fundamentally Christian character. His remarks apply to America rather than to this country. The subject of the relations between the Methodist Episcopal Churches North and South has recently given rise to warm discussion. Dr. R. J. Cooke in this number states 'The Case of the Methodist Episcopal Church' (North), in reply to the *Nashville Christian Advocate*. We do not admire the title of the article by F. Leitch on *The Moral Responsibility of God to Man*, but the 'caption,' as they say in America, hardly describes the contents. Prof. von Raschen writes on Nietzsche, *The Apostle of the Superman*, and articles for the preacher are not wanting. We find in this number only as many as three—*Pulpit Mannerisms and Manners*, *The Preacher of the Evangel*, and *The Preacher's Pulpit Prayers*.

**The Review and Expositor** (Louisville, April) contains four chief articles, *John Calvin*, by Prof. H. R. Mackintosh of Edinburgh, *The Preacher's Use of Literature*, by Prof. Metcalf, *The Legal Study of the Pentateuch*, by Harold Wiener, LL.B. of London, and *The Divine and Human Attitude to Pain*, by P. Gavan Duffy. The first and third of these are specially good.

**The Princeton Theological Review** (April) contains three articles which cover a hundred closely printed pages. Prof. C. Wistar Hodge has written what amounts to a small volume on *Modern Positive Theology*, every page of which we have found full of good, though far from popular, matter. C. R. Morey's account of *The Origin of the Fish Symbol of Christ* is part of a learned archaeological dissertation which is to be continued in a future number. W. P. Armstrong's paper on *The Resurrection of Jesus and Historical Criticism* is an able piece of Christian apologetics. An elaborate series of reviews of recent theological literature goes to make up a distinctly solid number of this able periodical. The only question is whether our degenerate age can digest such strong meat. We are happy to think that in New England this may be the case.

## FOREIGN

**Religion und Geisteskultur.**—The April number opens with a thoughtful article on *God and Nature* by Prof. R. A. Hoffmann of Königsberg. He begins by showing that a philosophy of nature is implied in the assumption that nature is a unity. Pantheists sometimes claim to have 'a feeling of absolute dependence upon nature,' but such a feeling is possible only if 'nature' be understood to signify something more and other than the sum of visible phenomena. Pantheism must distinguish between nature as thus defined and the basal reality by which nature is constituted a unity; if it fails to make this distinction it becomes atheistic. Our knowledge of the power of the human spirit over the body justifies the inference that this fundamental reality is spiritual, not material. The direction in which Hoffmann looks for a solution of the riddle of the universe may be briefly indicated: God works both mediately and immediately in the world. The divine activity is *mediate* in so far as it is exerted on existing things, developing them according to definite laws; it is *immediate* in so far as new forms are evolved and new powers become operative in the world. In Hoffmann's view a true theory of evolution permits of 'leaps,' for the most part small, but sometimes greater, as from the inorganic to the organic. The cell—the simplest form of life—is a complex formation, such as could never be produced by the mechanical combination of its various elements. An idea has been operative. Organisms imply dominant ideas to shape the constituents out of which they are formed; these dominants are neither mechanical and material nor electro-dynamic, but spiritual, and they point back to the great, all-comprising intelligence, in the activity of whose will the origin of the universe finds its explanation. Dr. Hans Schlemmer discusses at length *Kant*, *Schleiermacher*, and *Herrmann*, his object being to elucidate the relations subsisting between these three great thinkers. Herrmann's teaching is said to mark a distinct advance upon Schleiermacher's, in which there is 'a lack of the necessary historic understanding of existing religions and of religious heroes.' But Herrmann has demonstrated the significance for faith of historic facts. Other subjects discussed in this number are *Problems in the Theory of Knowledge* by Dr. Messer of Giessen, and *Monism* by the editor.

**Theologische Rundschau.**—The chief contribution to the April number is by Titius, who reviews many recently-published works in an article entitled *Present-Day Dogmatic Problems*. A needful protest is entered against the tendency manifested by some apologists to separate religion and knowledge. 'The same Spirit of God who redeems us from our moral helplessness also leads us to the knowledge of Jesus Christ and of His Father.' Our redemption is completed by our spiritual perception of the glory of God in Christ. Of special significance is the assertion of the impossibility of making 'a bold severance' between the Jesus who, in our experience, reveals

Himself as living and the historic Christ. The attempt to make this clear-cut division is rightly said to be fraught with peril, for apart from the historic Christ we should be exposed to all kinds of suggestions, based only on pious opinion or on supposed experience. Very instructive is the notice of a pamphlet by that clear thinker of the modern positive school, Dr. Paul Feine. Its subject is, *How Far is Jesus the Revealer of God?* and Feine maintains that in estimating the religious value of Jesus, the chief factor is not His preaching but His person. 'In regard to the constitution of His being and the religious and moral content of His life, Jesus did not place Himself on a level with men'; it was 'in virtue of His essential oneness with God that He claimed to be regarded as the sole leader of men to God.' The sinfulness of humanity is manifested in the sinless personality of Jesus, but in Jesus is also revealed the purpose of God to lead men from sin to fellowship with Him. It follows that Christianity, when rightly understood, implies 'a personal and individual relation to Jesus.' Although Titius would modify or amplify some of Feine's statements, he recognizes the importance of the aspect of truth presented. 'It seems to me undeniable that as the revealer of the Father Jesus ascribes to Himself a position which places Him on the side of God as distinguished from all other men.' But when the treasure we possess in Jesus is said to be not His preaching but His person, Titius would understand the reference to be to His person as 'the concentration and realization of those ethical and religious truths of which men before possessed a presentiment, gradually advancing to greater clearness and force.' But if Feine too exclusively dwells on the true divinity of Jesus, Titius is in danger of falling into the opposite error. He expresses, however, hearty agreement with Faut in his work on *Christology since Schleiermacher*. The influence of Ritschl is manifest alike in what the author and the reviewer say. One important assertion is that 'Jesus' own religion would be imperfect, did it not include a religious judgement of Himself.' That it did include such a judgement is evident from His consciousness of His Messiahship and of His divine Sonship. 'He Himself believed in the Christ in His Person.'

**Theologische Literaturzeitung.**—On May 14th this Journal appeared in mourning, and brought the news of the death of the editor-in-chief, Dr. Emil Schürer. Professor Harnack pays an eloquent tribute to the memory of his colleague and friend. His work on *The History of the Jewish People in the Times of Jesus Christ* is described as 'a text-book which for decades to come will be indispensable.' An interesting paragraph defines Schürer's theological position. He was a critic of Baur, many of whose conclusions he did not accept; Rothe was his teacher, but he took an independent course and approached more nearly to the stricter views of Kant. He was in sympathy with Ritschl's attempt to simplify Protestant theology, but differed from him often in regard to

exegetical decisions. In the main, Schürer adhered to the views adopted more than thirty years ago. In a characteristic passage Harnack says that this fact must be recorded to his credit. 'We praise some because they have been learning all their life and have often changed their point of view; we honour others because they retain essentially the same positions. This is no contradiction; for temperaments and experiences vary. Each must be true to the inner law of his own personality and of his own mental development.' Concerning Schürer's steadfastness, Harnack says that 'he was more frequently right than wrong.' He was not attracted by 'ingenious theories lacking a sufficient basis, nor by hopeful hypotheses which soon proved to be soap-bubbles.' Harnack, Schürer's junior by a few years, refers to a friendship of thirty-eight years that has never been disturbed by the slightest misunderstanding. On some questions Schürer and Harnack have crossed swords, but the survivor says that they both aimed at edification rather than controversy. The article is a high-toned appreciation of one who was 'not only my friend, but the counsellor and teacher of my youth.'

According to a writer in the *Révue des Deux Mondes* (May 1), on *L'Enchantement de la Mer Morte*, it appears that the region round about the Dead Sea is fast becoming a pleasure resort. The famous plain is 'watered like Egypt, as the Garden of the Lord,' just as it was in the days of Abraham, and has many of the attractions of natural beauty; but the writer fears that the present tourist invasion threatens a doom to that lovely land 'worse than that which fell on Sodom and Gomorrah.' The whole region, especially that round Jericho, is finely described in a paper of considerable interest to Bible readers. In the following number (May 15), M. Victor Gerard describes the late Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé as a writer with 'a grand style, an elevated but infinitely supple, generous, and hospitable mind, a faculty of enthusiasm and even of lyricism which survived all the deceptions of life, all the bitternesses of experience, a power and a vivacity of intuition exercised on the most various contemporary spectacles; a thinker, in short, who is a poet, and a man of action who does not disdain to be a great writer.'

Students of 'Modernity' would be interested in the first article in the April number of the *Révue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* on the Religious Philosophy of Kant, by Prof. Sentroul, of the Sao Paulo University, Brazil; and biblical students will find all the recent light on Tammuz and Adonis in the second article on the *Cult of Foreign Gods in Israel*, by M. Lemonnyer. There is also an elaborate and illuminating article on *The New Theology of Wittenberg*, in which Luther's biblical and philosophic views are dealt with not unsympathetically. Among the book notices is a useful synopsis of Dr. Mausbach's fine treatise, the first that has ever been written, on the *Ethics of St. Augustine—Die Ethik des heiligen Augustinus*—(Fribourg en B.: Herder, 2 vols., 1909).

